Shaping civic identity over time: Seleucid cities in the Near East and their stories of beginnings and foundation

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Material Abstract

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This work examines the transmission and reception of civic origin myths of some Seleucid cities in the Near East from the Roman period until the first half of the Middle Ages. It focuses primarily on five cities founded by Seleucus I – Antioch the Great and Apamea in Syria, Seleucia on the Tigris, Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok in Mesopotamia and it uses their stories of foundation and mythical beginnings to explore how their cultural identity was re-shaped in various ways in the post-Seleucid world. It argues that memories of Seleucus I and his empire were claimed by a variety of agencies, from both the Greek-speaking and the Syriac-speaking worlds; they were used to negotiate the identity of the Seleucid cities and communities while engaging with cultural memories of Greek archaic and classical past, Alexander the Great and the Achaemenids, which characterised cultural discourses in the empires of the post-Seleucid world. The first chapter focuses on Antioch and examines how the local historian Pausanias, the rhetor Libanius, and the chronographer John Malalas recalled stories concerning the Antiochene mythical founders and Seleucus I in order to interact in wider cultural discourses within the Greco-Roman and Byzantine worlds. The second chapter looks at third-century AD Apamea and investigates how the poet Ps. Oppian adapted its origins to respond to Caracalla's Alexander-mania. The third and fourth chapters consider Seleucid cities in Mesopotamia. The third chapter focuses on Seleucia on the Tigris and explores how memories of its Seleucid foundation were used by Appian to engage with the cultural propaganda of the Roman emperors during the Parthian wars. The fourth chapter analyses the Syriac Christian communities and how they intertwined foundation stories claiming Seleucus I as a founder with memories of Alexander and Darius III to elaborate their new cultural identities. Then, the last chapter discusses memories of the Seleucid past and Seleucus I in post-Seleucid Seleucia Pieria, Laodicea, Dura Europus and Daphne.

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List of abbreviations

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae

IGRR = Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes

IGLS = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syria*

BMC = A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, London, 29 vols. 1873-1927.

BNJ = Worthington, I. 2012 - *Brill's New Jacoby*, published online at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com

Milet I 9 = A v. Gerkan, A., Krischen F. 1928. *Thermen und Palästren, Milet I 9*, Berlin.

OGIS = Dittemberger, W. 1930. *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae,* Leipzig.

PLRE II = Martindale, J.R. 1980. *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire 395-527 AD,* Cambridge.

RIC = Roman Imperial Coinage

SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

SNG Levante Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Switzerland I. Levante-Cilicai, Berne, 1986.

SNG France Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, France, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. Paris, 1983–.

SNG von Aulock Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung v. Aulock. 19 vols. Berlin, 1957–1981.

*SNG Copenhagen S*ylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, 43 vols. Copenhagen, 1942-1979.

P. Dura = Welles, C.B., Fink, R.O., Gilliam, J.F. 1958. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report V.1 (The Parchments and Papyri)*, New Haven.

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1. Introduction

When Seleucus I died (281 BC)[1], killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus when he was about to reach and conquer Europe, the immense empire he had created extended geographically from Afghanistan to the Aegean Sea. It included South-West Asia Minor, North Syria as well as Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau, and Central Asia. Refoundation and foundation of colonies allowed Seleucus to control the new territory on a vast scale and to organise the Seleucid power. The colonisation program undertaken by Seleucus was impressive and it is recognised as such by both ancient and modern commentators. Some of the most populated and renowned cities of the ancient world, such as Antioch the Great, Apamea, Laodicea by the Sea and Seleucia Pieria in Syria (the so-called Tetrapolis), as well as Seleucia on the Tigris in South Mesopotamia, were established by the Seleucid king. Smaller settlements founded by Seleucus, such as Dura Europus in Mesopotamia, also played a prominent role in the ancient landscape. Seleucus' urbanising programme, which would later be refined by his successors, immensely outpaced those of the other Hellenistic kingdoms and quickly became a distinctive mark of the Seleucid dynasty.[2]

It is only in the last few decades that the Seleucid Empire has been re-evaluated by scholarship. Classical scholars of previous generations considered the Seleucids as the rulers of a shallow and fragile empire. Highly influenced in their views by the ancient written records on late Seleucid history, these scholars generally tended to depict the Empire as being in a perpetual state of agony and decline.[3] They defined it as a sick man from its birth.[4] The failure of the Seleucid kings to handle the numerous and diverse regions under their control was always emphasised by these scholars. In addition, they insisted, on the inability of the Seleucids to assure cultural and ethnic integration across the lands of the Empire; in fact, Seleucid dynasts were presented as tyrants whose aim was to Hellenise the conquered territories and to impose their Greek dominating colonial force.[5] Although Seleucid scholarship did recognise and praised Seleucus' colonial activity, the foundation of cities throughout the empire was mainly read as an imposition of Hellenic culture over barbarous subjects; the existence of a possible co-operation between Seleucids and indigenous elements

[1] For a detailed account on Seleucus I's empire creation and territorial expansion see Bevan (1902), 1.28-73; Seyrig (1970) 290-311; Will (1966), 19-105; Mehl (1986); Briant (1990), 40-65; Grainger (1990a); (2014), 1-126; Bosworth (2002), 210-245; Capdetrey (2007), 25-76; Engels (forthcoming).
[2] For a discussion on Seleucus I's colonizing program see, for example, Seyrig (1970); Cohen (1978); (1996); (2006); (2013).
[3] Rostovtzeff (1941), 1.429-430; Will (1966), 1.262-290; Tarn (1966), 4; Grainger (2010), 416.
[4] Bevan (1902), 76.
[5] Tarn (1966).

was generally excluded.[6] According to this view, the unsuccessful empire would have led itself (and its cities), in the end, inevitably to succumb to the greater empires of the Parthians and the Romans. These scholars never contemplated the existence of a Seleucid legacy, which could outlast the Empire.

Over the past few decades renewed interest in the Seleucid Empire has developed. Through a new approach to the subject matter, scholars re-evaluated the empire and the dynasty as a whole.[7] This new approach has reconsidered elements, which were labelled as weaknesses by previous scholarship. The complexity and diversity of the Seleucid state are now praised, as well as its duration and the capability of its various dynasts. The Seleucids created an empire that was solid from an institutional, economic and ideological point of view. It has been demonstrated that the dynasty, already under Seleucus I, worked to shape the territory under its control ideologically and to transform it into a legitimate space.[8] In other words, the Seleucids gave their dominions a Seleucid identity. This was achieved through ideological as well as practical interventions.[9] The Seleucid colonisation programme can be read in this light and it has been argued that it played a fundamental role in this process of shaping the Seleucid imperial territory.[10]

At the same time, it has been shown that the Seleucids, rather than being Hellenic tyrants aiming at implanting Greek culture on a land which was considered foreign and barbarous managed to integrate the various cultural backgrounds of Asia Minor, Syria, Iran, and Mesopotamia in the process of empire construction.[11] This is also reflected within the colonies founded by Seleucus I and his successors. In these, cultures and traditions of the Greco-Macedonians were blended with traditions and cultures of other communities rather than being imposed on them.[12] In addition, the adaptability of the empire and the adoption by

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[6] See for example Cohen (1978); Grainger (1990b).

[7] The breakthrough work which started this process of re-evaluation was Khurt and Sherwin-White (1993). Other very important works followed. For example, Ma (1999) with a focus on Seleucid Asia Minor; Aperghis (2004) and Capdetrey (2007) for the Seleucid economy; Primo (2009) for Seleucid historiography; Erickson (2009) for Seleucid coinage under the first Seleucids; Wright (2013) for Seleucid religion; Kosmin (2014) for the creation of a Seleucid space; Engels (forthcoming) for the relationship between Seleucid East and West; and the works produced by the Seleucid Study Day workshops such as Erickson and Ramsey (2011); Coskun and McAuley (2016). A new contribution by Daniel Ogden has just been published (2017). This book, entitled *The Legend of Seleucus. Kingship, Narrative, and Mythmaking in the Ancient World*, offers very interesting points of view on Seleucus I. However, since it came out when this dissertation was mostly finished it has not been taken into full account for the time being.

[8] Kosmin (2014), 4-5.

[9] Kosmin (2014), 4-5.

[10] Kosmin (2014), 195.

[11] Engels (forthcoming), 6.

[12] For a very detailed discussion on the Seleucid colonisation and its aims see Engels (forthcoming), 157-212.

its rulers of pre-existing systems of rule, such as the Achaemenid institutions, have been highlighted.[13] The new portrait that emerges from these studies is that of a geographically and culturally diverse empire; yet, capable of integrating and ruling over this complex scenario in the *longue durée*. The impact of the empire on ancient Asia was certainly profound. Kosmin has convincingly argued that the Near East was politically and culturally transformed and redefined by the Seleucid Empire. In particular, the scholar has stated that, "the concentration of colonial settlements in northern Syria and the middle Tigris established these areas as the Near East's lasting cores of urban civilization and imperial power".[14] It was only with the Islamic conquest that the Seleucid mark would start to be permanently modified. The Seleucid Empire, according to the new approach to it, did indeed leave a legacy.

This thesis focuses on the post-Seleucid world. Its general aim is to investigate the Seleucid cultural legacy and the reception of it at the times of the Romans, Byzantines and Sasanians whose empires succeeded the Seleucid one in the West and East of ancient Asia. Scholars have only recently started to focus on the reception of the Seleucid Empire. Regarding the reception of Seleucid legacy in the post-Seleucid East, for example, it has been shown how Seleucid sacred architecture and art, as well as the royal ideology of the Seleucid dynasts, influenced the development of Iranian artistic and religious traditions under the Parthian and Sasanian empires.[15] On the other hand, the reception and adoption of prodigies and oracles linked to Seleucus I by Augustus in the post-Seleucid West has also been noted. It has been demonstrated that the Roman emperor, in order to negotiate his self-representation at the beginning of his principate, imitated Seleucus I as well as his religious propaganda.[16]

This thesis builds on this new approach and looks at origin myths of some Seleucid cities (that is, stories of their historical foundation and mythical beginnings[17]) and their reception in a time span from the collapse of the empire until the end of Late Antiquity and the first half of the Middle Ages. I will look at five cities founded by Seleucus I, namely Antioch and Apamea in Syria, Seleucia on the Tigris, Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok in Mesopotamia; I will primarily investigate how memories of their foundation by the Seleucid king were received and reshaped in the post-Seleucid worlds. In addition, I will also analyse the stories of mythical beginnings of some of these cities and explore how these were received and

[13] Kurt and Sherwin-White (1993).
[14] Kosmin (2014), 257.
[15] Daryaee (2006), 387-394; Canepa (2014), 1-27.
[16] Engels (2010), 153-177; (forthcoming), 455-479.
[17] Mac Sweeney (2015), 1.

intertwined with those concerning Seleucus I. The choice of presenting these case studies in this thesis is simply dependent on the available source material.[18] Nonetheless, these cities were located in North Syria and Mesopotamia, which represented the Eastern and Western cores of the Seleucid Empire; hence, these case studies will allow us to understand how memories of the Seleucid past from both Seleucid East and West were received in the post-Seleucid world.

Through the analysis of these myths, it will be pointed out that memories of Seleucid origins were used to negotiate cultural identities at different levels and by different agencies. It will be demonstrated that the image of Seleucus I was used to engage with cultural marks characterising the cultural landscape of the post-Seleucid period, in particular with the memories of Alexander the Great and the Achaemenids/Persians. It will be shown that Seleucid cultural identity persisted and was actively and continuously reconstructed in the new political and cultural environments under the Roman, Byzantine and Sasanian dominations. Although the Seleucid Empire collapsed because of internal struggles and loss of political control; it remained a prominent player in the multifaceted and complex cultural landscape of the post-Hellenistic world.

1.1 Foundation myths: their reception and use in the negotiation of cultural identities across the *longue durée*.

Foundation myths tell stories about origins and define what things are.[19] For this reason, they tend to be told within societies over time. For example, stories concerning the origins of nations or people as well as stories concerning the birth of lands, cities, or empires continue to be transmitted and narrated many centuries after the events they tell about. Foundation myths preserve cultural memories and define identities. Therefore, they are continuously received, interpreted, and reshaped according to new social and historical contexts.

Foundation stories, especially those concerning the period of Greek archaic colonisation, have long been debated by classical scholarship. Three main schools of thought nowadays lead the discussion.

The first approach – also defined 'historical-positivist' –, studies foundation myths from a historical perspective. This represents the most traditional approach to the subject. Proponents of this approach argue that foundation myths contain a kernel of historical truth

[18] The only extant evidence of a foundation story outside those concerning Seleucus I is the account of the re-foundation of Lysimachia in Thrace under Antiochus III. This is treated in this thesis in a separate excursus.
[19] Mac Sweeney (2013), 7; Mac Sweeney (2015), 1.

concerning the origins and the founders of the city in the narrative.[20] They were transmitted over generations through oral memory and then as written texts.[21] Therefore, adherents to the positivist approach try to uncover the historical elements from the foundation myths. Other sources of evidence, such as archaeology, are interpreted in order to confirm the literary texts and discover the truth they relate.[22]

In the last few decades however a different approach has developed; it is known as the 'historical-constructivist' approach.[23] It focuses more on the foundation story itself.[24] Proponents of this approach consider foundation myths as being in a continuous process of transformation; therefore, historical facts cannot be reconstructed from them.[25] Foundation myths are continually altered and reshaped by the society, which produces them according to social, cultural and political circumstances. Foundation myths are, thus, literary creations socially constructed rather than documentary history; for this reason, "they should be situated in the time they were written and circulated"[26] as "they tell us more about the time in which they were written than the time they were written about".[27] Therefore, the adherents of this approach are not interested in the historical accuracy of the stories but rather in the agency that produced them. Scholars aim to uncover the agendas of the people who elaborated them.

Finally, a third approach also exists, which is known as the 'pragmatic approach'. Supporters of this tend to find a compromise between the positivist and constructivist approaches and to merge the core ideas from each of them. This approach argues that foundation myths are certainly the product of the society that creates them and are, therefore, manipulated and re-adjusted according to its aims and agendas; however, it also states that the production of such myths was influenced by a certain degree of historical credibility.[28]

Both the positivist and the constructivist approaches have been applied to the origin myths of the Seleucid cities. As regards the myth of Antioch in Syria, for example, adherents of the positivist approach have assumed that the story that narrates the arrival of Argive elements (the Ionitai) on the site of the future Antioch, reflected the historical migration of a pre-

[20] Hall (2008), 383. Hall offers a very detailed discussion on the different approaches to foundation myths.
[21] Boardman (1980); Carandini (2011).
[22] Hall (2008), 384.
[23] Hall (2008), 385.
[24] Dougherty (1993); Dougherty (1994).
[25] Calame (1990); Osborne (1998).
[26] Mac Sweeney (2015), 4; see also Malkin (1998); Hall (1997); Gerkhe (2001); Grandazzi (1997); Foxhall et. al. (2010).
[27] Mac Sweeney (2013), 10.
[28] Hall (2008), 387; Clarke (2008), 245-303; Patterson (2010), 22-44; Mac Sweeney (2013), 8-9; Mac Sweeney (2015), 5.

Macedonian population in the area.[29] The foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris has been similarly interpreted. It has been assumed that the harsh relationship between Seleucus I and the magi, which is sketched in the myth actually represented the real relationship between the local subjects and the Greek king who had conquered them. On the other hand, proponents of the constructivist approach have read these myths as literary products of the Seleucid court.[30] According to them, Seleucus I and later his successors would have created and shaped origin stories according to specific agendas. In this way, for example, the story concerning the arrival of Perseus (the founder of the Persian race according to the Greek tradition) in Antioch would have been shaped in order to emphasise the connections between the Seleucid dynasty and the Iranian subjects;[31] similarly, the episode of Antioch's foundation story which involves an eagle guiding Seleucus I to the right site for the foundation of Antioch, would have been used by Seleucus to claim his connection with Alexander the Great who often appears linked to the same animal. Additionally, the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris would have been developed as such in order to legitimise the shift of political rule from the Achaemenid to the Seleucid kings.[32] According to this approach, therefore, foundation myths and stories of mythical beginnings would inform us on the mechanism of Seleucid imperial propaganda.

Invaluable insights concerning the contents and the production of these myths have been offered by both these approaches. In this work, I am inclined toward the constructivist approach; my focus is on the stories themselves and on what they can tell us about the negotiation of Seleucid identity, rather than on the historical information they may contain. However, I argue for a further shift of focus. I will concentrate particularly on one specific point of this approach, namely on the idea that origin myths are social constructs and that they therefore should be considered within the time they are composed. I will approach these accounts as literary works. These works were produced many centuries after the demise of the Seleucid Empire, more specifically between the Roman period and the Middle Ages. As regards the myth of Antioch, for example, the literary sources which narrate it are dated between the second and the sixth centuries AD; the foundation myth of Karka de Beth Selok is narrated in a literary text which is dated to the sixth century AD and evidence for the foundation stories concerning the city of Edessa dates from the seventh to the thirteenth

[29] Bevan (1902), 212; Downey (1961), 52-53; Burkert (1992), 160; Boardman (2005) 278-291; see also Lane Fox (2009), 213-214 for further discussion.
[30] See for example, Ogden (2011); (2008); (2013); Kosmin (2014); Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming).
[31] Ogden (2008), 114-118.
[32] Kosmin (2014), 213-214.

century. In this work, I will consider the stories of mythical beginnings and historical foundation in the times they were written in order to investigate the permanence of Seleucid memories and the negotiation of Seleucid cultural identity. In other words, my focus is not on investigating what these myths can tell us about Seleucus I and his time, but rather on the reception of memories of the Seleucid past by the agents who lived many centuries after the extinction of the Seleucid world. Like the Seleucid kings, these agents, too, resorted to, and shaped the origin myths according to specific agendas and expectations. Perhaps, we can understand these agendas more clearly than those of the Seleucid kings.

It is not my intention to question the fact that these late myths might include elements that originated in the Hellenistic period, at the Seleucid court or in cultural contexts within the Seleucid Empire. In fact, it is very likely that both the foundation myths and the stories of mythical pre-foundation do preserve a Hellenistic core. For example, Seleucid scholars have thoroughly explored and demonstrated how the Antiochene myth, which is the most detailed and complete of these myths, very likely presents core elements and details that were created in a Hellenistic Seleucid background.[33] Where possible, in this thesis, I will try to highlight the different strata of these stories and discuss their transmission (see in particular the discussion of the Apamean story of mythical beginnings in chapter 3). However, the main interest of this work is on the time period in which these stories were written, which is many centuries removed from the one narrated in the myths, and on their reception.

Much may be gained from analysing these myths from this perspective. By focusing on the reception of such stories we would learn something about the Seleucid empire that we would not discover by looking at the myths as a product of the Hellenistic period exclusively. It will appear clearly that although the Seleucid empire had ceased to exist in the first century BC, memories of Seleucus I continued to circulate and be meaningful in later times. For example, stories concerning Seleucus I's conquest of Mesopotamia and his foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris were still valuable in the second century AD and were presented as relevant to the Roman emperors who campaigned to conquer the Parthian East. Considering these myths in light of their reception will also inform us about the socio-cultural context in which they were received and produced. For example, by investigating the reception of the foundation myths of Karka de Beth Selok and Edessa much may be learned concerning the Syriac Christian

[33] See, for example, Saliou (1999-2000), 357-388 who attributed the introduction of particular details within the origin myth of Antioch to specific Seleucid rulers; and also Kosmin (2014), 230-234 who suggested that the mythical founders of the city were created by the population of Antioch itself in the Hellenistic period as a response to the Seleucid royal image-making as reflected in the city's foundation myth.

communities which engaged with them, and more light may be thrown on their cultural self-perception in relation to a specific historical and cultural context.

As the focus of my thesis is on the transmission and reception of origin myths of the Seleucid cities in the post-Seleucid world, I will now sketch out the historical events that led to the demise of the Seleucid empire and to the rise of the empires that followed it. This will set the historical framework into which these civic myths were later received, narrated and reshaped.

1.2 Mapping the demise of the Seleucid Empire and the rise of the new empires

When approaching Seleucid history, the element that particularly catches the attention is the territorial instability of the empire. Throughout the history of the Seleucid Empire, territorial limits changed often and the Seleucid kings frequently found themselves facing territorial losses. Yet the Seleucid empire created by Seleucus I lasted for over two centuries. Seleucid kings continuously fought to regain their territories and to preserve the empire founded by Seleucus. This, as we shall see, had a strong impact of the reception of the empire in the post-Seleucid era. In what follows I will trace the history of their losses and reconquests.

The history of the Seleucid empire, from the death of Seleucus I onwards, is characterised by three main recurrent phenomena: internal struggles among the members of the Seleucid dynasty, permanent wars between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies for territorial control (the so-called Syrian Wars), and continuous readjustment of Seleucid territorial dominions which included temporary and permanent losses of Seleucid space. My focus will be on the last point.

1.2.1 From Antiochus I Soter (281-261) to Seleucus II Callinicus (246-225)

From a territorial point of view, this first phase of Seleucid history is characterised by the loss of some peripheries of the empire.[34] After the death of Seleucus, his son Antiochus I (281-261 BC), who had been appointed ruler of the Eastern part of the empire by Seleucus, inherited the kingdom. During his reign, the defection of Pergamum from the Seleucids resulted in the Seleucid loss of part of Asia Minor. The Attalid Eumenes, ruler of Pergamum, revolted against the Seleucids and after having defeated Antiochus I at Sardis, proclaimed the independence of Pergamum from under Seleucid control. The Seleucids were never to reconquer the territory; in fact, the Attalids would expand in Asia Minor endangering the

[34] For the events of the first phase of the empire see Bevan (1902), 1.127-169 (Antiochus I); 1.181-299 (Seleucus II).

Seleucid possession of Asia Minor.[35] During the reign of Seleucus II Callinicus (246-225) Attalus I conquered the greatest part of Seleucid territories in Asia Minor, west of the Taurus chain (230 BC ca.). Achaios, cousin of the future Antiochus III, was appointed as governor of Asia Minor by the Seleucids in order to recover the lost territories. Although, in the beginning, he managed to reconquer most of western Asia Minor for the Seleucid kingdom, he was stopped by the Attalid king and his allies before he succeeded in advancing further and recovering all the territories completely.[36]

The reign of Seleucus II marked two important and permanent losses for the Seleucid kingdom, namely the loss of Parthia and Bactria, which were located in the Eastern peripheries of the Empire. In 247 BC, Andragoras, who had been appointed by the Seleucids as satrap of Parthia, revolted and claimed independence for the satrapy from Seleucid rule proclaiming himself "king"; however, his rule lasted only a few years (238 BC ca.). Arsaces, the leader of the Parni, a nomadic tribe, managed to invade and conquer all the territories of Parthyene and, thus, create the basis for the future Parthian empire.[37] The successes of Arsaces marked, for the Seleucid empire, the permanent loss of the satrapy of Parthia. In addition, in around 245 BC, Diodotus, the satrap of Bactria, declared independence from the Seleucid Empire. Diodotus then succeeded in creating the Greco-Bactrian kingdom that managed to maintain its independence from any Seleucid attempt to reconquer the territory.[38] From this moment, Bactria would never be under Seleucid direct control again. However, Seleucus II did attempt to regain the satrapies, and thus reaffirm the empire conquered by Seleucus I. At around 230-227 BC he went on a campaign eastward and faced Arsaces and his army; but dynastic struggles in the western part of the empire forced him to retreat quickly from the East leaving the land in the hands of the Parthian king.

Although some areas of the empire created by Seleucus I, such as Pergamum, Parthia, and Bactria, were lost to the Seleucids by the death of Seleucus II, the Seleucid empire still dominated the Asian landscape.

[35] Hansen (1971); Kosmetatou (2003), 161.
[36] Erskine (2001), 173-175; Kosmetatou (2001), 107-132; (2003), 162-163.
[37] Dabrowa (2012), 26. See also Bevan (1902), 1.300-319; 2.1-114.
[38] Tarn (1966); Lerner (1999); see Coloru (2009) for a detailed study on the origins and development of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

1.2.2 Antiochus III (223-187) and the recreation of Seleucus I's empire

The reign of Antiochus III the Great marked a revival of Seleucid territorial expansion.[39] Antiochus spent most of his reign trying to reconquer the empire's lands claimed and ruled by his ancestors. In other words, he aimed at once again recreating the empire of Seleucus I and enlarging it further. At the same time, his reign was also marked by major permanent losses.

A few years after Antiochus began to rule, the Seleucid king undertook several campaigns in the Upper satrapies to restore the Seleucid Empire in the East. In 220 BC Antiochus defeated the rebellions of the satraps Molon and Alexander in Media and Persia, and brought the territory once again under Seleucid control; in addition, he also forced Artabazanes, the ruler of Media Atropatene who had declared independence from the Seleucid rule, to submit.[40] These events were followed by a second campaign in the East by Antiochus. This, also known as Antiochus' *anabasis*, lasted for seven years (212-205 BC). In 212 BC, he managed to subjugate Armenia forcing the Armenian king Xerxes to acknowledge Seleucid rule. Later on, he invaded Parthia (209 BC) and succeeded in transforming the kingdom of Arsaces II into a Seleucid vassal state. From Parthia, he then moved to Bactria. Here he accepted a formal submission by the Greco-Bactrian king Euthydemus and was presented with elephants by the king of the Indians.[41] After having regained some control over these territories, he moved via Persis to the Persian Gulf where he campaigned for a short time in the area before returning to North Syria. Thanks to Antiochus III, the Eastern part of the empire was once again in Seleucid hands.

While Antiochus III achieved this in the East, his reign was marked by the permanent loss of territories in Asia Minor. In 189 BC, while he was moving to invade Greece, a Roman protectorate since 197 BC, he was stopped by the Romans at Magnesia and defeated by Scipio Asiaticus. After the event, the Romans imposed the Treaty of Apamea (188 BC) on Antiochus III. According to this, the Seleucid had to cede all the territories in Asia Minor north-west of the Taurus. The Seleucid kings would never be able to conquer these territories again. Yet, the eastern part of Asia Minor and Cilicia were still under their control.

The reign of Antiochus was, however, also marked by the Seleucid conquest of Coele-Syria. This area had been claimed by the Seleucid kings since the time of Seleucus I. After the battle

[39] Grainger (1996); (2004); (2010); (2015); Taylor (2013). Antiochus III's territorial expansion has also been discussed in a separate excursus at the end of this work.
[40] Schmitt (1964); Taylor (2013); Grainger (2015).
[41] Erickson (2009), 192.

of Ipsus (301 BC) and the defeat of Antigonus Monophthalmus by the Successors, Seleucus I had incorporated the territories in North Syria into his newly founded empire. Coele-Syria was also claimed by Seleucus but remained under the control of the Ptolemies. This resulted in decades of territorial disputes and wars between the Seleucids and Ptolemies (the Syrian Wars).[42] In 200 BC Seleucid and Ptolemaic armies met in the battle of Panium. The Seleucids won the battle and Antiochus III finally annexed the most important cities on the Phoenician coast and Judea to the Empire . Seleucid control over the territory was not, however, to be long lasting. The next phase of Seleucid history was marred by major permanent territorial losses.

1.2.3 From Antiochus IV (175-164) to Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129): the rise of the Parthian empire

The reign of Antiochus IV was characterised by the troubled relationship between the king and the Jews in Judea.[43] This brought about the persecution of the Jewish population and the demolition of the temple of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV. The result was a rebellion against his rule by the Maccabees in 167-166 BC; this would lead to the independence of Judea which was claimed in 110 BC by the Hasmonean dynasty.

Another important event in this phase of Seleucid history is represented by the definitive collapse of the Eastern part of the Empire and the subsequent rise of the Parthians. Under Demetrius I Soter (161-150 BC) and Demetrius II Nicator (145-138), the Parthian king Mithridates I managed to expand his empire enormously and conquered various Seleucid dominions. In 148 BC, he annexed Seleucid Media and Media Atropatene and entered Ecbatana. In 141 BC, he then penetrated the Eastern core of the Seleucid Empire; he occupied most of Mesopotamia conquering Seleucia on the Tigris, Ctesiphon and Babylon as well as all the other important centres under Seleucid control. Demetrius II attempted to regain the lost territories and undertook a campaign in the East in 139/138 BC. He failed, however, and was captured by the Parthians. A second attempt was made by Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-126 BC), Demetrius II's brother, in 131-129 BC. Although Antiochus succeeded in having Demetrius II released from Parthian captivity, he did not manage to recover the territorial losses. He died while campaigning against the Parthian Phraates II, Mithridates' successor. These events marked the demise of the Seleucid Empire in the East. From this moment, the Parthian empire, ruled by the Arsacid dynasty, dominated the political scene of

[42] These have been treated in detail by Grainger (2010).
[43] For details on the events during the reign of Antiochus IV and his successors, see Bevan (1902), 2.126-161; 2.178-246; Mørkholm (1966); (1989); Mittag (2006).

the East until the third century AD when the Sasanian Ardashir I deposed the last Arsacid ruler and established the Sasanian empire which was to last until the seventh century AD.

Although the Eastern part of the Seleucid empire had collapsed, the Seleucid kings were still to rule over the Western territories of south-east Asia Minor and North Syria for almost one century.

1.2.4 From Antiochus VIII Grypus (125-97/96 BC) to Antiochus IX Asiaticus (69-67 BC)

The demise of the Western part of the Seleucid Empire began only in 89 BC. Tigranes II (95-55 BC), king of Armenia, invaded North Syria. Subsequently he campaigned in Cilicia and Phoenicia and succeeded in annexing the Seleucid territories to his kingdom.[44] His rule, however, was not long lasting. In 69 BC, the Roman general Lucullus handed the territories conquered by Tigranes back to the Seleucid king Antiochus XIII Asiaticus. Although challenged by internal dynastic struggles the Seleucid Empire maintained control in the West for another few years. It was only in 64 BC that Pompey deposed Antiochus XIII and declared the definitive demise of the Seleucid Empire in the West, in the process creating the Roman province of Syria.

The Seleucid Empire in the end collapsed, its territories divided between the Parthians and later the Sasanians who ruled over Seleucid Mesopotamia and the Upper Satrapies and the Romans who dominated Seleucid Syria and Asia Minor. Yet, as the outline sketched above has shown, the Seleucids managed to maintain control over North Syria, Media and Mesopotamia, which came to be the core of the empire, up until the end of the Seleucid dynasty. The cities that I will examine in this work were located in the core of the Seleucid Empire. Antioch and Apamea were part of Seleucid Syria, while Karka de Beth Selok, Edessa and Seleucia on the Tigris were situated in Mesopotamia. Although the empire ended, these cities did not cease to exist; in fact, they were integrated into the new political, social, and cultural systems that developed under the new empires. Some of them, such as Antioch and Seleucia on the Tigris, came to play prominent roles within new historical contexts, as we shall see. This work investigates how they negotiated their old Seleucid identity within these new frameworks.

[44] For the events leading to the demise of the Seleucid Empire, see Bevan (1902), 2.247-294;

1.3 Structure

Antioch, Apamea, and Seleucia on the Tigris are treated individually in separate chapters; Edessa and Karka are discussed together in one chapter. Chapters are organised in chronological order and according to geographical areas.

The first chapters focus on the reception of origin memories by Seleucid cities within the Roman and Byzantine Empire. The second chapter focuses on Antioch in Syria and on the reception and manipulation of its Seleucid as well as pre-historical past in different moments of the city's life, namely in the second, fourth and sixth centuries AD. It argues that the local historian Pausanias of Antioch, claimed Seleucus I as the founder of the city, in the Antonine period, in order to engage within a wider cultural discourse, which saw the Hellenistic Greek cities of Asia Minor and the Roman Near East re-shaping their origins and adopting Alexander the Great as their civic founder. Then, the chapter notes how Libanius (fourth century AD), on the other hand, underplayed the Seleucid identity of Antioch and chose instead to emphasise its foundation by Alexander the Great. His aim, I argue, was to compete with the illustrious past of Athens, which was claimed as the greatest among the Greek cities by the Greek rhetors in imperial Rome, such as Aelius Aristides and Menander Rhetor. According to this agenda, Libanius reshaped the origins of the city and emphasised the greatness of Antioch in new terms. This chapter also discusses the interpretation and manipulation of the stories concerning the mythical beginnings of the city by the same three authors. It posits that, in the cultural climate of the Second Sophistic, when the Greek cities of the Roman East were focused on claiming their Greek pedigree, Antioch participated in the cultural climate emphasising its Argive identity. I argue that Pausanias of Antioch's emphasis on the images of Triptolemus, Perseus, and Io can be read in this light. The mythical Argive origins of the city would be negotiated again in the following centuries. I posit that Libanius subtly rearranged the mythical narrative of Antioch to equate it with the illustrious mythical past of Athens. The chapter also shows how Malalas reinterpreted the same mythical origins of the city within his universal history for a similar purpose, namely in order to rival similar claims of antiquity made by Constantinople. The example of Antioch perfectly demonstrates how the Seleucid past and identity were continuously recreated and negotiated over time to engage with cultural differences and expectations.

The third chapter looks at Apamea in Syria. It argues that Ps. Oppian, during the reign of Caracalla, manipulated a Seleucid story of the mythical origins of Apamea in order to emphasise the link between the city and Alexander the Great. Once again, it appears that the

Seleucid identity of the city was overshadowed by memories of Alexander the Great. Under Caracalla, the Greco-Roman world showed a renewed attention to the figure of Alexander, also influenced by the Emperor's Alexander-mania. Ps. Oppian, I suggest, emphasised the role of Heracles in the origin story of Apamea according to this cultural context. His purpose was to negotiate a new cultural identity for his city that would have appeared more appealing to the Emperor's cultural interests. This chapter, like the previous one, highlights how the reception of Alexander the Great by the Roman world affected the cultural identity of the Seleucid cities.

The fourth chapter shifts the geographical focus and looks at the city of Seleucia on the Tigris in Southern Mesopotamia. The chapter argues that Appian, in the second century AD, engaged with the foundation myth of the city, and with stories concerning Seleucus I's conquest of Mesopotamia and the East. The purpose was to present the emperor Lucius Verus with a new cultural example to imitate during his military campaign against the Parthian enemy which aimed at the conquest of the East. In the cultural climate of the time, where Alexander the Great was considered the conqueror and coloniser of the East par excellence, Appian, I posit, suggested an alternative. The historian reinterpreted the stories of Seleucus' campaigns in the East and claimed, in his work, the king's successes in founding Seleucia on the Tigris against the attempts by his Persian enemies to restrain him. Thus, Appian negotiated a new role for Seleucus I and for the identity of Seleucia on the Tigris within the Roman cultural milieu of the Antonines.

The fifth chapter focuses again on Mesopotamia and in particular on the Seleucid cities of Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok that are located in Upper Mesopotamia. While the previous chapters investigate the reception of civic myths by the Greek-speaking world, this chapter discusses the reception of cultural memories of the Seleucid past within the cultural milieu of Syriac Christianity. I will look at how representatives of the Western Syriac Orthodox community and of the Syriac Church of the East manipulated the foundation myths claiming Seleucus I as a founder to reconstruct their new historical and cultural identities after the separation of the Syriac Christian Church and the creation of these two separate groups. The chapter argues that the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of Karka de Beth Selok* (sixth century) reinterpreted the image of Seleucus I and presented him as the successor of the powerful empires of the East, namely the Assyrian and Achaemenid empires. The aim was to negotiate the cultural identity of the new community according to the cultural marks of the geographical area to which they had migrated, namely the Sasanian Empire. In response to

this, the chapter argues, Jacob of Edessa (seven century), the representative of the Syriac Orthodox Church, re-shaped the past of his city and his community by emphasising instead the image of Alexander the Great as the founder of the city. This would have allowed the Syriac Orthodox Christians to present a founder as illustrious as the one presented by their rivals in the East. The chapter also argues that the cultural identity of Edessa as claimed by Jacob was to be discussed and reinterpreted once again during the Syriac Renaissance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD. I will demonstrate that while Michael the Syrian accepted Jacob's claims, the anonymous author of the *Chronicle up to the Year 1234* highlights the Seleucid identity of the city by emphasising instead Seleucus I as its founder.

The sixth chapter focuses on the cities of Seleucia Pieria and Laodicea in Syria, Dura Europus in Mesopotamia, and the Antiochene Daphne. These cities present evidence of foundation myths that is, however, either very scanty or incomplete. For this reason, they are treated together in one chapter. The section argues that the myth concerning the foundation of Seleucia Pieria was received and interpreted differently by Appian, Pausanias of Antioch and Malalas. The former focuses on the apparition of an omen to Seleucus I during the foundation of the city, while Pausanias and Malalas emphasised another element, namely the eagle. This detail also appears in the foundation story of Laodicea as well as Antioch and Apamea, narrated by the same authors. The chapter states that it is not easy to define whether the eagle was an addition by Pausanias and Malalas or rather another detail of the same foundation story also narrated by Appian. Another city examined in the chapter is Dura Europus. This city does not present evidence of a foundation myth in a narrative form. Yet, it shows that Seleucus I was claimed as the civic founder in the second century AD.

An excursus has been included in the final part of this work. The time period and the geographical area here considered are different from the ones analysed in the main chapters. It focuses on the Seleucid king Antiochus III and on the literary narrative concerning his refoundation of Lysimachia in Thrace (as transmitted by Polybius). Yet I consider this case-study noteworthy to explore and include in this thesis as it represents the only other extant evidence of a foundation myth claiming a Seleucid king as a founder outside the realm of Seleucus I.

In this excursus, I analyse how the Greek historian Polybius (third century BC) received and used the story of the refoundation of Lysimachia in his *Histories*. I argue that he aimed at sketching a precise profile of Antiochus III in his work that would present the king as a

magnanimous conqueror and a just ruler with subjects and defeated enemies. I will show that the refoundation account, which has the Seleucid king rebuilding a destroyed Lysimachia, was included by Polybius according to this purpose. Interestingly, the case-study is the only example, among those presented here, of the reception of foundation stories claiming a Seleucid king as a founder in a time when the Seleucid Empire was still alive (third century BC).

1.4 Sources for the origin myths of the Seleucid cities

Stories of origins come in various forms. However, the literary texts represent the main medium for their transmission . This work will, therefore, draw primarily on literary sources to analyse the reception of such myths. Descriptions of cities' pasts and origins were treated in details in local histories and local chronicles. An example of this is the work written by Pausanias of Antioch. Although it has survived only in fragments, Stephanus of Byzantium[45] and Tzetzes[46] inform us that it focused on the history of Antioch from its origins. It also possible that stories concerning the origins of other Seleucid foundations may have been included his local history. The oration in praise of Antioch (*Or*. 11, also known as the *Antiochicus*) by Libanius can also be considered as tracing the local history of the city. Works of oratory are indeed a medium for emphasising local past and present.[47] Not only does it narrate stories concerning the origins of Antioch and its foundation but it also follows the history of the city until Libanius' own time. In addition, the author inserts important details within his work concerning the political and social systems of fourth-century AD Antioch. Stories concerning the civic past of the Seleucid cities were also transmitted in local histories written in Syriac. This is the case, for example, of the *History of Karka de Beth Selok and the Martyrs therein*. Written in the sixth century AD by an anonymous Christian author, this local history preserves detailed accounts concerning the Assyrian, Persian, and Seleucid origins of the city. Another example of Syriac literature which discusses Seleucid civic origins is represented by the *Chronicle up to the Year 1234*. This local chronicle, composed in the thirteen century by an anonymous Christian chronicler, expands thoroughly on the Seleucid past of Edessa, providing interesting and unprecedented details concerning Seleucus I's building activity in the city.

Not only were the stories of origins of the Seleucid cities told and transmitted at local level, but they were also received in the high literature of the empire. The works of Appian and Ps.

[45] St. Byz. s.v. Σελευκόβηλος (*FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F2).
[46] Tzetz. *Chiliad*. 7.167 (*FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F3a).
[47] For a detailed discussion on this point see in particular Schepens (2001), 3-12; Clarke (2008), 245-303.

Oppian provide evidence of this. The foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris is examined by Appian in the eleventh book (*Syriaca*) of his *Roman History*, which focuses on the conflict between Rome and the Seleucid empire. Ps. Oppian instead engaged with the memories of Seleucid Apamea in his didascalic poem on the hunt, the *Cynegetica*, which is dedicated by the author to Caracalla.

Other sources of information for these myths are the late antique and early Medieval Christian world histories. The *Chronographia* written by John Malalas in the sixth century AD represents one example of this. Malalas transmits and manipulates fragments from the lost work of Pausanias of Antioch providing us with a very detailed account concerning the origins of the Seleucid Tetrapolis and its inclusion within a universal world view. Other examples are then presented by the Syriac works written by Jacob of Edessa and Michael the Syrian. The former is the author of a universal *Chronicle* composed in the seventh century AD which was meant as a continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*.[48] In this work, Jacob narrates and interprets the story concerning the foundation of Edessa. The work presents the same issues as that of Pausanias of Antioch. The original work by Jacob is lost to us; yet Michael the Syrian quotes fragments of it.[49] The latter lived in twelfth-century Edessa and is the author of another universal *Chronicle*.

As this overview has shown, a diverse range of literary works transmitted foundation myths and stories of beginnings of the Seleucid cities. These stories circulated in different languages; most of them were written in Greek, but Syriac was also used to transmit the Seleucid past. In addition, we have seen that these myths appear in works of both poetry and prose. These literary works offer the most complete versions of these stories; yet they do not cover all the available literary material. References to these myths also appear in the writings of other authors such Diodorus, Strabo, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Tzetses, who mention details of these traditions. It is likely that many more works existed which were already known and read in antiquity. Evagrius Ponticus, for example, who lived at the end of the fourth century AD, mentions the names of Greek authors such as Phlegon of Tralles (second century AD), Arrian, Ulpian (third century AD), Julian, and the poet Pisander (second century AD) and states that they wrote comprehensively about the foundation stories of Antioch.[50] This gives us a glimpse of the dimension and importance that memories of the Seleucid past might have played in the post-Seleucid world. It is also very likely that many stories circulated orally. In

[48] Debié (2015), 297-319.
[49] For a detailed discussion on the relationship between the work by Jacob and Michael see ch.5.
[50] Evag. 1.20.

addition, it is possible that they might have been narrated in different languages and dialects, according to what the written texts have already shown.

Another medium for the transmission of origin accounts is iconography. Details concerning civic foundation stories can be found sketched on coinage produced by some Seleucid cities. The majority of evidence of this comes from Antioch. Coins issued by the city in the Roman period feature details that allude to the same foundation account narrated by the literary sources.

Another source of evidence, then, is archaeology. Archaeological evidence concerning foundation myths claiming Seleucus I as a founder is generally very scanty. Two reliefs have survived which allude to a foundation narrative. The first is the Antiochene Paseria relief, the other is the relief of the temple of the Gadde from Dura Europus. They both depict Seleucus I in the guise of the founder of the city. The Paseria relief, in addition, also recalls scenes from the city's foundation account transmitted by the literary sources. Two recently found mosaics from Apamea can now be added to the list of archaeological evidence of these myths of beginnings and foundation. Discovered and stolen by smugglers in recent years, the mosaics are a beautiful visual representation of the origin story of the Seleucid city as narrated by Ps. Oppian in his poem.[51]

Finally, information concerning these foundation myths might also be gathered by looking at the founder-cults. These civic cults were dedicated to the founder of the city. There is evidence of these cults for the Seleucid period. Some of these cults still existed after the extinction of the Seleucid Empire. An example can be found in Dura Europus where evidence of a cult dedicated to Seleucus as the founder of the city seems to have survived into the Roman period.[52] In addition, it may be possible that Seleucus was worshipped as the civic founder also in Roman Antioch.[53] Although these cult practices do not provide us with a foundation narrative, they suggest that these stories might have circulated. Therefore, they are particularly valuable as they inform us that many more stories about the origins of the

[51] A rich collection of mosaics from Antioch in the Late Antiquity should also be mentioned here. Although these presents scenes from the Greek mythology, such as Perseus with a gorgon, and Daphne with Apollo, none of them explicitly refers to the foundation story of the city. For an overview on this topic see De Giorgi (2016), 152-156 with bibliography.

[52] For a more detailed discussion on the founder-cult at Dura Europus and the evidence of this see chapter 6.

[53] Malal. 11.9 (Thurn) informs us of a statuary group representing Seleucus I and Antiochus I crowning the city's Tyche which was erected by the emperor Trajan in AD 116. Cohen (2006), 81 suggested that this group would be evidence of the continuation in post-Seleucid Antioch of a founder-cult.

Seleucid cities might have been available in the post-Seleucid world than those preserved in the extant literary evidence.

2. Antioch and the reception of its civic past

Παλαιόθεν Ελληνίς

Καυχιέται η Αντιόχεια για τα λαμπρά της κτίρια,
και τους ωραίους της δρόμους· για την περί αυτήν
θαυμάσιαν εξοχήν, και για το μέγα πλήθος
των εν αυτή κατοίκων. Καυχιέται που είν' η έδρα
ενδόξων βασιλέων· και για τους καλλιτέχνας
και τους σοφούς που έχει, και για τους βαθυπλούτους
και γνωστικούς εμπόρους. Μα πιο πολύ ασυγκρίτως
απ' όλα, η Αντιόχεια καυχιέται που είναι πόλις
παλαιόθεν ελληνίς· του Άργους συγγενής:
απ' την Ιώνη που ιδρύθη υπό Αργείων
αποίκων προς τιμήν της κόρης του Ινάχου.[54]

K. Kavafis

2.1 Introduction

The Antiochene myth is the longest and the most detailed among the origin stories concerning the Seleucid cities that have survived within the ancient literary tradition. Not only does it narrate the foundation of the city by Seleucus I, the historical founder, but it also includes stories about the mythical beginnings of the city which precede the arrival of Seleucus I in the Syrian land. These stories record how characters from Greek mythology, such as the Argive Io, Triptolemus, Perseus, and the Cretan Casus were part of the history of Antioch, and they were meant to emphasise the illustrious pedigree of the Seleucid city and its inhabitants.

This chapter aims to discuss the reception and transmission of these origin stories by Antiochene Greek writers who lived in different historical periods of the city after the collapse of the Seleucid Empire. These are the rather obscure local historian Pausanias of Antioch, who lived in the second/third century AD; the fourth-century AD rhetor Libanius, and the Byzantine chronographer Malalas who lived and wrote in the sixth century AD. My contention is that the inclusion of the stories about the historical foundation of Antioch and its mythical beginnings within their works was not due to a mere interest in antiquarianism.

[54] "Antioch is proud of its splendid buildings/its beautiful streets, the lovely countryside around it/its teeming population;/proud too of its glorious kings, its artists/and sages, its very rich/yet prudent merchants. But far more/than all this, Antioch is proud to be a city/Greek from ancient times, related to Argos/through Ione, founded by Argive colonists/in honor of Inachus' daughter" (transl. by Keeley and Sherrard, 1992).

Rather, I will show, they altered and reshaped these narratives with the purpose of claiming and renegotiating the Greek and Seleucid identity of Antioch within new political and cultural contexts.

In order to show this, I will, firstly, focus on Pausanias of Antioch and his local history and argue that Pausanias emphasised the Argive origins of Antioch as well as the civic historical founder, Seleucus I, in order to engage with the revival of themes from the Argive past during the Second Sophistic and with the renewed attention toward civic founders by Greek cities of the Greco-Roman East. Then, I will turn to Libanius and his oration in praise of Antioch (*Or*. 11 *Antiochicus*). I will demonstrate that he claimed, in front of the Greek audience at the Olympic Games where he delivered the oration, the origins of Antioch to be as illustrious as those of Athens described by Aelius Aristides in his famous Olympic oration, the *Panathenaicus*. Not only could the Greek and Seleucid origins of Antioch stand up against those of Athens, but also against those of the more recent and illustrious city of Constantinople. This is the topic of the third and last part of my chapter. I will focus on Malalas' *Chronographia* and show how he transmitted and emphasised the account from Pausanias of Antioch in order to engage with his contemporary, Hesychius of Miletus and the latter's claim of Constantinople's Greek and ancient origins.

2.2 Pausanias of Antioch: Antioch's civic origins and the Second Sophistic

Pausanias is not an easy author to deal with. Evidence concerning his life is scanty and his work has survived only in fragments transmitted by late authors such as John Malalas, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Ioannes Tzetzes. Nonetheless, decades of debate among scholars have succeeded in throwing some light on Pausanias' life and work. The majority of scholars agree in considering Pausanias a Greek writer from Antioch who lived in the second or third century AD. He wrote a local history that focuses on Antioch (but not only) from the origins of the city until the imperial period.[55]

The fragments concerning the beginnings and foundation of Antioch, which are the focus of this section, belong to this lost work. They have survived thanks to John Malalas who transmitted them in his *Chronographia*.[56] As regards the contents of the myth, this can be divided into two parts. The first one deals with the mythical past of the city. It focuses on the mythical founders of Antioch, namely the Argive Io, Triptolemus, and Perseus. The second

[55] Janizswesky (2006), 181; Primo (2009), 278 ff.; Asirvatham in *BNJ* 854; Garstad (2011), 669-691 with bibliography; Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming).
[56] For the relationship between Pausanias and John Malalas see Asirvatham in *BNJ* 854.

part of the myth is dedicated to Seleucus and his foundation of the city. Scholars so far have examined the whole account with the purpose of finding elements belonging to the Seleucid period that would allow them a better understanding of the royal propaganda of Seleucus I and his successors.[57] I will look, instead, at how Pausanias received this myth and how it fits into his local history of Antioch. I argue that Pausanias was making his claims about the past of Antioch in order to engage with the cultural climate of the second and third centuries AD. In order to demonstrate this, I will first look at the phenomenon of the Second Sophistic and in particular at the renewed interest in themes from the Greek past. I will show how various Greek cities of Asia Minor and the Roman Near East engaged with this. While some of them responded by claiming the Argive Io, Triptolemus, and Perseus as their Greek mythical founders, others reshaped their past by alleging Alexander the Great as their historical founder. Then, I will turn to Pausanias and argue that he emphasised the mythical founders of Antioch, as well as the city's historical founder, Seleucus I, in order to engage with the new cultural expectations and with these cities' claims of Greek illustrious origins and founders.

2.2.1 The Second Sophistic and the revival of civic origin stories in the Greco-Roman East

The second and third centuries AD are characterised by a renewed attention towards themes from the archaic and classical history of Greece.[58] These were constantly recalled and emphasised in this time by writers of the Second Sophistic (late first to third century AD). [59] A high proportion of themes in the literary production of Greek authors, such as Aelius Aristides, Dio Chrysostom, and Pausanias the Periegete, derive from the archaic and mythological history of Greece, from the political histories of classical Athens and Sparta, the greatest of the classical Greek poleis, and from the age of Alexander the Great.[60] The Roman world and Roman rulers of this period were attracted by the history of the Greeks and their glorious past and they expected to sense it when approaching the Greek world of their present. It is widely accepted that this revival of the world of archaic and classical Greece also became functional to the relationship between the Greek world and the Roman audience and power. [61] As Swain has convincingly argued, the Greek past was a "channel of communication" between the Greeks and the Romans in the first centuries of the Empire.[62] The past, according to Swain, assisted "Greek elites to secure their position by allowing them

[57] For example, Primo (2009); Ogden (2011a); (2011b); Erickson (2009); (2013); Kosmin (2014).
[58] Bowie (1970), 6; Anderson (1989); (1993), 101 ff.; Woolf (1994); Swain (1996), 65-100.
[59] For discussion on this term and its meaning, see Whitmarsh (1998), 19-23; Whitmarsh (2001); Goldhill (2001), 14-15; Whitmarsh (2005); Schmidt and Fleury (2011).
[60] Bowie (1974), 170-74; Anderson (1993), 69 ff.; Swain (1996), 66.
[61] Woolf (1994); Swain (1996); Yildirim (2004), 24-48.
[62] Swain (1996), 78; also Anderson (1993), 102.

to claim a connection with…the great days of their countries".[63] These renewed attentions towards a Greek past also affected the Greek cities of the Roman East. A clear example of this is the institution of the Panhellenion by Hadrian in Athens (131/2 AD).[64] This shows how important it was for a (Greek) city to possess, and to prove, at a civic level, a link with literary and mythological figures of the Greek archaic and classical world. Admission to the Panhellenion was indeed granted to cities which could prove not only loyalty to Rome but also a Greek pedigree; this means that a city had to demonstrate origins connected with the most prestigious founders of the Greek world. Claims of kinship with Athens, Sparta and Argos were frequent among cities which applied for the Panhellenion.[65] Greek cities in the Roman East that were *not* members of the Panhellenion were also widely affected by the tendency of the period to emphasise Greek origins. The number of cities that in the second and third centuries AD reasserted or reshaped their Greek pedigree and founders is indeed striking[66]. This led, therefore, to a revival of civic origin stories**,** depicted on coinage or narrated by literary sources, aimed at claiming that these cities possessed Greek mythical founders as well as illustrious historical founders in line with the new cultural tendencies.[67] Clear examples of this renewed attention towards mythical founders are provided by the Greek cities of Tarsus, Aegae, Byzantium and Gaza, which are located across Asia Minor and the Roman Near East. In the next section I will focus on them and show how they emphasised their Argive past by claiming Perseus, Triptolemus and Io as their mythical progenitors and founders. As we shall see, these are the very same Argives that were also claimed by Pausanias in his account of the city's mythical beginnings.

2.2.2 Argive mythical founders in Asia Minor and the Roman Near East

The first city I will turn my attention to is Tarsus, in Cilicia.[68] Numismatic and literary evidence informs us that the city claimed, in the second and third century AD, the Argive

[63] Swain (1996), 74.
[64] For bibliography concerning the Panhellenion see, for example, Oliver (1970), 120; Spawforth and Walker (1985); Spawforth (1986); Willers (1990); Jones (1996), 47-53; Romeo (2002); Doukellis (2009), 285 ff.
[65] The city of Cibyra, in Asia Minor, for example, alleged in a decree, for the first time in the second century AD, to be founded by the Spartans and to be related by kin to Athens. Only a century before, however, the city was described by Strabo (13.4.17) as a non-Greek foundation. For the decree cf. *IGR* I 418=*OGIS* 2.497; *IGR* III 500. See Oliver (1970), 95; Spawforth and Walker (1985), 82; Curty (1995), no. 81; Swain (1996), 75; Price (2005), 122 for a discussion on Cibyra and its civic past.
[66] Robert (1980), 240, 412; Weiss (1984); Strubbe (1984-1986); Frezouls (1991); Curty (1995); Yildirim (2004), 23; Patterson (2010); Jones (2010), 111-124.
[67] This emphasis on Greek past is certainly not new in the Greek world. In this period, however, the attitude has particularly intensified and was aimed at a cultural interaction with the Roman Empire.
[68] For Tarsus see Cohen (1996), 358-361.

Figure 1: BMC Cilicia, 185, n.139

Perseus and Triptolemus as its mythical founders. For the first time under Hadrian (117-138 AD), the city minted bronze issues bearing as reverse type the image of Perseus. The image shows a standing Perseus, wearing winged sandals. He is holding a statuette of Apollo with wolves in his right hand, and a harp in his left hand. A lion bringing down a bull is also part of the scene (Fig.1).[69] Apollo and the wolves, as well as the lion and the bull, are part of a Tarsian local tradition, which originated before the time of Hadrian. [70] What is interesting to note, however, is the addition to the local story of the figure of Perseus in this period. The image of Perseus appears again on bronze coins minted at Tarsus in the third century AD. Reverse types (Fig.2) bear the image of Perseus standing and wearing winged sandals; in his right hand he is holding the head of Medusa, while in his left hand he holds a harp and chlamys.[71]

Figure 2: http://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/thumbnails.php?album=326

Not only was Perseus emphasised on the second-and third-century bronze coinage of Tarsus, but we also find him claimed as mythical founder of the city by literary sources of the time.[72] Dio Chrysostom, in his oration addressed to the people of Tarsus, writes:

> […] ἤ τινα ἔπαινον καθ᾽ αὑτῶν ἀκούσεσθαι οἰόμενοι καὶ δημόσιον ὕμνον τῆς πόλεως, περί τε Περσέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῆς τριαίνης καὶ περὶ χρησμῶν τῶν γενομένων, καὶ ὥς ἐστε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἔτι βελτίους, καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς ἔχετε ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους, μᾶλλον δὲ Τιτᾶνας;
>
> […] Or is it because you expect to hear some laudation directed at yourselves, some patriotic hymn in praise of your city, all about Perseus and Heracles and Apollo the Lord of the Trident and the oracles that you have received, and how you are Hellenes, yes, Argives or even better, and how you have as founders, heroes and demigods — or, I should say, Titans?[73]

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[69] *BMC* Cilicia, p. 185, no.139.
[70] Robert (1977) 97-98; Imhoof-Blumer (1898), 169-181, pl. XII-XIII.
[71] *BMC Cilicia*, p. 206, no. 228 (Maximinus I); *BMC Cilicia*, p. 195, no.182 (Caracalla).
[72] For a discussion on the same passages see Scheer (1994), 282-294.
[73] Dio Chr. *Or.* 33.1 (Transl. by Cohoon and Crosby 1940).

In the oration, Dio is inveighing against the moral decay and wantonness of the people of Tarsus. In this passage, he is sarcastically commenting on claims made by the Tarsians concerning their origins and ancestry. Both Perseus and the alleged Argive origins of the city are mentioned (among others). The tone of the passage seems to suggest that the Tarsians were proud of their past and that they seemed not to be ashamed of still emphasising it in the time of Dio. Another passage from the same oration seems to confirm this idea. Here again, the Tarsians of Dio's own time claimed to be colonists from Argos.[74] The idea that people from Tarsus were emphasising their Argive ancestry in the second century AD would explain the production of bronze coinage portraying the image of Perseus that we have seen above.

Tarsus, in the second and third centuries AD, also claimed another illustrious Argive hero among the mythical founders of the city, namely Triptolemus.[75] Evidence of this comes, again, from numismatic evidence. Under Caracalla, the city minted, for the first time, bronze coins bearing as reverse types the Greek hero in a chariot drawn by winged serpents. His right hand is extended sowing, while the left one is holding a seed-bag (Fig.3).[76] This would further show how the city was proud to claim its Argive pedigree. Neither the claim of Triptolemus nor that of Perseus as founders of Tarsus was invented for the first time in this period. In the late first century BC, Antipater of Thessalonica had already mentioned Perseus as the founder of the city.[77] A century later, Lucan confirmed this detail.[78] Similarly, Strabo already mentions Triptolemus' presence in Tarsus. He writes that the Argives who wandered with Triptolemus in search of Io founded Tarsus.[79] As Scheer has convincingly argued, the kinship with Argos, Perseus, and Triptolemus was probably shaped by Tarsus in the Hellenistic age to compete with the Argive past already claimed by other Greek cities in the area, such as Soloi and Mallos.[80] What is interesting here, however, is the fact that in the second and third centuries AD the city

Figure 3: http://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=326&pid=2605#top_display_media

[74] Dio Chr. *Or*. 33.41. See also *Or*. 33.45. for Dio Chrysostom see Jones (1978); Swain (2000).
[75] Triptolemus is commonly associated with Athens and Attica. However, in the second century AD, Pausanias the Periegete (1.14.2) presented him (for the first time) as associated with Argos. See also Scheer (1994), 273-282; (2005), 229.
[76] *SNG Levante* 1049; *BMC Cilicia*, p. 195, no. 185; see also *SNG France* 1509; *BMC Lycaonia,* p. 196, no. 186; *SNG v. Aulock* 6014.
[77] *Anth. Pal.* 9.557: "Tarsus, city of Cilicia, the runner Aries, son of Menecles, did equate Perseus, your founder".
[78] Lucan. 3. 225.
[79] Str. 14.5.12. See also Str. 16.2.5.
[80] Scheer (2005), 226-230.

decided to accentuate this ancestry particularly, as numismatic and literary evidence has shown. Tarsus was not the only Greek city in the area to do so.

If we look indeed at Aegae which is located like Tarsus, in Cilicia, we see that this city, too, emphasised its Argive ancestry in this period, in particular through the image of Perseus. Epigraphic evidence informs us of a decree from Aegae, dated to the second century AD, which was placed in the temple of Apollo Lyceum in Argos. The decree reports the speech made by the sophist Publius Antiochus of Aegae who had gone to Argos to seek a renewal of the friendship between the two Greek cities. After his request was accepted, the sophist asked for the decree to be published in the temple. According to a surviving part of the speech, Antiochus would have claimed the renewal of the friendship with Argos on the basis of a common Argive ancestry.[81] Although the text is quite corrupted in this section, it still possible to see that the kinship between Argos and Aegae was claimed through the image of Perseus. According to the decree, Perseus, while going against the Gorgon, would have stopped by Aegae and brought there the statue of a goddess. This claim is further supported by numismatic evidence. In the time of Hadrian, indeed, the city minted silver tetradrachms bearing as reverse type the image of Perseus. The picture presents a draped bust of Perseus with the harp over his shoulder. A small goat appears kneeling below his bust (Fig.4)[82] representing a local tradition concerning the foundation of the city.[83] What interests me, however, is the emphasis on Perseus put by the city in this period. Aegae represents, thus, another example of a Greek city that claimed, like Tarsus, an Argive pedigree.

Figure 4: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/cilicia/aigeai/i.html

Not only were the claims of Argive kinship made through the images of Perseus and Triptolemus, as we have seen for the cities of Tarsus and Aegae, but they were also made through another quite important Argive representative, namely Io, the daughter of king Inachus.[84] The kinship with Io is emphasised by the city of Byzantium, in the area of the Bosphorus. In the second century AD the geographer Dionysius of Byzantium composed his *Voyage through the Bosphorus*, a sort of *periplous* in which the author describes the

[81] *SEG* 26.425 with 31.308; Robert (1977), 120-13; Chaniotis (1988), 65-85; 322-325; Curty (1995), n.5; Price (2005), 122.
[82] *SNG Levante,* 1717.
[83] Dahmen (2007), 22 with bibliography.
[84] For the mythical tradition concerning Io see Gantz (1993), 188 ff. with reference to primary sources; Lane Fox (2009), 210-211 who focuses on Io's travels in the East.

Bosphorian shores. As regards Dionysius' *periplous*, Belfiore has argued that this was written to be neither a handbook for navigation nor a travel report, which are the main reasons why *periploi* are usually composed. Rather, Dionysius' *Voyage*, which mainly focuses on mythological elements and places of the area, is to be considered as belonging to the *genre* of rhetoric writing.[85] In addition to this, Belfiore has noted that: "L'opera presenta punti di contatto con le tante periegesi e storie di carattere locale o regionale, i *patria*, a volte non prive di elementi mitografici e paradossografici".[86] According to this statement, therefore, Dionysius of Byzantium was writing a local history of his city emphasising myths and foundation legends. Various parts of the work are indeed dedicated to the past and mythical foundation of the city. Interestingly, Dionysius, when discussing the foundation of Byzantium, claims Byzas, the founder of Byzantium, as a descendent from Io:

> Ἰὼ γάρ, ἐπεὶ μηχαναῖς μὲν Διός, ὀργῇ δ' Ἥρας πτερωτὸν οἶστρον ἄφετος ἐν μορφῇ βοὸς ἐπὶ πολλὴν ἐπτοήθη γῆν, κατὰ τοῦτον μάλιστα τὸν τόπον ἐπειγομένη ταῖς ὠδῖσιθείας γὰρ γονῆς ἔμπλεως ἦν ἀπερείδεται θῆλυ βρέφος. τὸ δ' ἀραμένη Σημύστρα τιθηνεῖται παράσημον τῆς μητρῴας μεταβολῆς· τύποι γὰρ κεράτων καθ' ἑκάτερον τοῦ μετώπου μέρος ὑποδύντες ἐξεῖχον· ἔνθεν κα λεῖται Κερόεσσα. ταύτης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Βύζας ἀνὴρ ἶσα θεῷ τετιμημένος, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Βυζάντιον.
>
> […] Because of the actions of Zeus, the wrath of Hera had Io turned into a cow. Afflicted by a gadfly, she was driven forth from every land and sea. When she arrived on this land – bearing Zeus' child – she gave birth to a daughter. Semestra took and nourished the child. She bore the signs of her mother's transformation: small horns were marked indeed on each side of her head. For this reason, she was called Ceroessa. From Ceroessa and Poseidon Byzas was generated, a man who was honoured as a god, and from him Byzantium.[87]

According to the passage, after Hera turned Io into a cow, she fled and arrived in Thrace. Here she gave birth to a daughter Ceroessa, the mother of Byzas. Byzas, from whom Byzantium was founded, is the grandson of Io. In other words, the Argive Io, daughter of Inachus[88], was the mythical ancestor of Byzantium. Interestingly, while Dionysius emphasises the tradition which has Byzas descending from Io, he omits any reference to the other tradition which presents Byzas as the (Megarian) commander of the Megarian

[85] Belfiore (2010), 67.
[86] Belfiore (2010), 68.
[87] Dion. Byz. 24.
[88] Dion. Byz. 7.

expedition.[89] However, in other parts of his works, he alludes to the Megarians as the colonisers of the city implying that he is clearly aware of this second tradition.[90]

According to all this evidence, it seems therefore that Dionysius, in the second century AD, was particularly interested in emphasising the kinship between his city and Io over any other tradition concerning the city's foundation. Dionysius presents Byzantium as possessing an Argive ancestry, in line with the claims made by Tarsus and Aegae.

Figure 5: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/judaea/gaza/i.html

Finally, claims of Io as mythical founder can also be found in the city of Gaza that is located on the Palestinian coast. The city acquired importance in the Hellenistic period. It was captured by Alexander and for a short period of time was part of Antigonus' possession. After his defeat, it was captured and ruled by the Ptolemies. From the reign of Antiochus III, the city came under Seleucid control and, later, it was re-founded probably by Seleucus IV and renamed Seleucia.[92] In Roman times the city maintained an important role. In the second century AD, in particular, Hadrian conferred privileges on the city and instituted wrestling, boxing, and oratorical competitions. In the second half of the same century, Gaza then became a Roman colony.[93]

Figure 6: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/judaea/gaza/i.html

In the second century AD, there is evidence that this city claimed an Argive ancestry through Io. For the first time under Hadrian, Gaza minted bronze coins which bear as reverse types the Tyche of the city and Io in the form of a heifer (Fig.5). [94] Io appears also in her human form on Gaza's bronze issues and is depicted standing and shaking hands with the city-Tyche (Fig.6).[95] In addition, evidence from the literary tradition hints that Gaza was also called Ione.[96] Unfortunately no foundation myth has survived which narrates the story at length. As Lane Fox has demonstrated, stories concerning the presence of Io in this area are certainly more ancient

[89] Hdt. 4.144. See also St. Byz. s.v. Byzantium. This is also remembered by Hesychius who writes in the sixth century AD and uses Dionysius among his sources.
[90] Dion. Byz. 14; 34; 39; 49; 53; 63; 71.
[92] For info on Gaza in the Hellenistic period see Cohen (2006), 286-288.
[93] Millar (1993), 107; Levin (2005), 162.
[94] *BMC Palestina*, p. 125, no.29.
[95] *BMC Palestina*, p. 124, no.24.
[96] Eustath. *Comm. Dion. Per.* 92 with Lane Fox (2009), 214.

than the Roman times.[97] Interestingly, however, the city seems to have particularly emphasised them in the second century AD.

All this evidence from Tarsus, Aegae, Byzantium and Gaza would show, therefore, that in the second and third centuries AD the Argive Perseus, Io and Triptolemus were claimed by these Greek cities as civic founders. Although, as it has been said above, these claims of Argive origins probably originated centuries before the imperial period (very likely during the Hellenistic age), they were emphasised particularly during the period of the Second Sophistic in order to negotiate an illustrious civic pedigree and engage with the renewed attention towards the Greek civic past.

I will now turn to Pausanias of Antioch and demonstrate that he was responding to this cultural climate and negotiating the Greek identity of Antioch by also claiming the city's Argive pedigree through the images of Perseus, Io and Triptolemus. Before we proceed further with the analysis of Pausanias' text, however, I would like to comment on a recent article by Garstad in which the author attributes to Pausanias new fragments from Malalas' work in addition to those already attributed to him by Jacoby.[98] The latter did not take these new fragments into account because Pausanias is not explicitly mentioned by Malalas; Garstad, on the other hand, has noted that they clearly match Pausanias' work in content and style. In what follows, I will discuss in particular Garstad's F9A (as it is labelled in the new numeration by Garstadt) which concerns Antioch's mythological times and follow Garstad in considering the fragment as part of Pausanias' work on Antioch. For the sake of clarity, I will cite the fragment in full. In book 2 of his *Chronographia*, Malalas writes:

> τότε ὁ Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἀκούσας περὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου, ὅτι ἔχει θυγατέρα παρθένον εὐπρεπῆ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δυτικῶν μερῶν πέμψας ἥρπασε τὴν Ἰώ […] ἡ δὲ Ἰὼ ἐπαχθῶς ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι αὐτῇ, καὶ μὴ θέλουσα συνεῖναι τῷ Πίκῳ Διΐ, διαλαθοῦσα αὐτὸν καὶ πάντας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς ἐάσασα, καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς Ἴναχον αἰσχυνομένη, ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καταπλεύσασα. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἡ Ἰὼ ἐκεῖ διῆγεν· καὶ μαθοῦσα μετὰ χρόνον, ὅτι Ἑρμῆς βασιλεύει τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ υἱὸς Πίκου Διός, καὶ φοβηθεῖσατὸν αὐτὸν Ἑρμῆν, φεύγει ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος […] ὁ δὲ Ἴναχος, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς, εἰς ἀναζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἔπεμψεν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς

[97] Lane Fox (2009), 210-214.
[98] Garstad (2011), 669-691.

συγγενεῖς καὶ τὸν Τριπτόλεμον καὶ Ἀργείους μετ' αὐτῶν, οἵτινες πανταχοῦ ζητήσαντες οὐχ εὗρον αὐτήν· γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι Ἰωπολῖται, ὅτι ἐτελεύτα εἰς γῆν Συρίαν ἡ Ἰώ, ἐλθόντες ἔμειναν ἐκεῖ πρὸς μικρόν, κρούοντες εἰς ἕκαστον οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντες 'Ψυχὴ Ἰοῦς σωζέσθω.' καὶ ἐν ὁράματι χρηματισθέντες εἶδον δάμαλιν, λέγουσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ, ὅτι· 'ἐνταῦθά εἰμι ἐγὼ ἡ Ἰώ.' καὶ διυπνισθέντες, τὴν τοῦ ὁράματος δύναμιν θαυμάζοντες ἔμειναν. καὶ λογισάμενοι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει αὐτῷ κεῖται ἡ Ἰώ, κτίσαντες αὐτῇ ἱερὸν ᾤκησαν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος, κτίσαντες καὶ πόλιν ἑαυτοῖς, ἣν ἐκάλεσαν Ἰώπολιν· οἵτινες ἐκλήθησαν παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Σύροις Ἰωνῖται ἕως τῆς νῦν. οἱ οὖν Σύροι Ἀντιοχεῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐλθόντες ἐζήτησαν τὴν Ἰώ, ποιοῦσιν οὖν τὴν μνήμην, κρούοντες τῷ καιρῷ αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕως ἄρτι. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἔμειναν αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκελεύσθησαν ἀπολυόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰνάχου βασιλέως, τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς Ἰώ, ὅτι· 'εἰ μὴ ἀγάγητε τὴν θυγατέρα μου Ἰώ, μὴ ὑποστρέψητε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀργείων χώραν.' ἔκτισαν οὖν ἐκεῖ οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἰωνῖται ἱερὸν Κρόνου εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος.

Then Picus Zeus, hearing that Inachus had a beautiful virgin daughter, sent for Io, daughter of Inachus, and carried her off. […] But Io was upset by what had happened to her and, not wishing to live with Picus, escaped from him and everyone else and abandoned her daughter. Since she was ashamed to appear before her father Inachus, she fled and sailed to Egypt. She entered the land of Egypt and lived there. But when some time later Io learnt that Hermes, the son of Picus Zeus, was reigning in Egypt, she fled from there in fear of him to Mount Silpius in Syria. […] Inachus, her father, sent her brothers and relations, and with them Triptolemus and some Argives, in search of Io; they searched everywhere but did not find her. When the Argives from Iopolis learnt that Io had died in the land of Syria, they went there and stayed for a short time, knocking on each house there and saying, "May the soul of Io be saved". A response was revealed to them in a dream and they saw a heifer, which addressed them in a human voice, saying, "Here am I, Io". When they awoke they continued to wonder at the meaning of the dream. Then, reasoning that Io was buried on that mountain, they built a shrine to her there on Mount Silpius and lived there, building a city for themselves, which they called Iopolis. Its inhabitants have been called Ionitai by the Syrians to the present day. From that time when the Argives came in search of Io to the present the Syrians of Antioch have performed this memorial rite, knocking at the houses of the Hellenes at this time each year. The reason why the Argives remained there in Syria was that they had been given instructions by the king Inachus, Io's father, as they left the land of the Argives, "Unless you bring my daughter, Io, do

not return to the land of the Argives". So, the Ionitai built a temple there to Kronos on Mount Silpius.[99]

We will come back later to the content of the fragment and to the arrival of the Argives in the site of Antioch. As said above, Jacoby did not attribute the story to Pausanias. However, I agree with Garstad in considering this fragment as part of Pausanias's work. As the author has correctly noted, the content of the above fragment recalls a very similar passage from Libanius' oration in praise of Antioch (Or. 11 – *Antiochicus*).[100] Libanius seems to have used Pausanias as his source for information concerning the myth of Antioch.[101] Chapters 44-52 of the *Antiochicus* report the same story concerning Io, Triptolemus, and the Argives as we find it in the fragment above. It also includes the same details reported by Pausanias, such as the knocking on doors by the Argives and the order by Inachus to not return to Argos should the searchers fail to find his daughter. This would suggest that F9A might come from Pausanias, too. In addition to this, the content of the fragment above fits extremely well with the other fragments on Antioch's past where Pausanias is cited explicitly as the author by Malalas, namely F9 and F10 according to Jacoby's numeration.[102] In F9 Pausanias tells us about the arrival of Perseus in Antioch and writes:

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Περσεὺς μετὰ τὸ βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Περσικῆς χώρας ἔτη πολλά, μαθὼν ὅτι ἐν τῇι Συρίαι χώραι διάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους Ἰωνῖται, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος ὡς πρὸς ἰδίους συγγενεῖς, οἵτινες δεξάμενοι αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς προσεκύνησαν· γνόντες αὐτὸν οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι Ἰωπολῖται, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀργείων κατάγεται, χαρέντες ἀνύμνουν αὐτόν. χειμῶνος δὲ γενομένου καὶ πλημμυρήσαντος πολὺ τοῦ παρακειμένου ποταμοῦ τῆι Ἰωνιτῶν πόλει τοῦ λεγομένου Δράκοντος, νυνὶ δὲ Ὀρόντου, ἤιτησε τοὺς Ἰωνίτας εὐξασθαι· […] ταῦτα δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος συνεγράψατο.

After Perseus had reigned over the Persian land for many years, he learned that Ionitai from Argos were living in the land of Syria. So he went to Mount Silpius in Syria to see them, as they were his relatives. They welcomed him with all honour and made obeisance to him. When these Iopolitai from Argos realized that Perseus too was descended from the Argive race, they were delighted and praised him. But a storm came up and the river known as the Dracon but

[99] Garstad F9A = Malal. 2.6 (All the translations of Malalas' text in this thesis are from Jeffreys et al. 1986).
[100] Garstad (2011), 675-676.
[101] Downey (1961), 41 n.64; Fatouros and Krischer (1992), 84; Saliou (1999-2000), 357-388; Garstad (2011), 675.
[102] See also Garstad (2011), 675.

now called the Orontes, which flows beside the city of the Ionitai, was in full flood. Perseus asked the Ionitai to pray. […] Pausanias, the most learned chronicler, has written this.[103]

We will come back later to the image of Perseus and his Argive kinship with the Ionitai. What is interesting to note here is that in this fragment we find reference to the same Argive Ionitai mentioned in F9A. Pausanias, however, does not provide the reader with any specific detail concerning the Ionitai or any explanation about their presence in Antioch. The omission of any detail would suggest that he has already provided that in another part of his work. F9A, which contains all the details concerning the Ionitai, seems, therefore, to fit well into Pausanias' work. The story in F9, in addition, seems very much the continuation of the previous one from F9A.

The Ionitai receive a very brief treatment by Pausanias also in F10, which narrates the foundation of Antioch by Seleucus I and the transfer of population into the new city:

προετρέψατο δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους Ἰωνίτας, καὶ κατήγαγε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰωπόλεως ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείαι οἰκεῖν, οὕστινας ὡς ἱερατικοὺς καὶ εὐγενεῖς πολιτευομένους ἐποίησεν.

Seleucus also won over the Argive Ionitai and brought them down from Iopolis to live in Antioch. He made them administrators, since they were pious and wellborn men. [104]

As in the previous passage concerning Perseus, Pausanias mentions the Ionitai only briefly, although they are clearly considered as illustrious men from the past of Antioch. This is very probably due to the fact that he has already introduced them in another part of his work, namely Garstad's F9A. All this evidence, therefore, would support Garstad's argument and confirm that F9A, where Io and Triptolemus are the main characters, can be considered as part of Pausanias' work.

Let us now turn to look at the contents of F9A and F9. As we have seen, F9A narrates the story of Io, the daughter of the Argive Inachus. The girl was seduced by Zeus and gave birth to a daughter. Upset by what had happened to her, Io escaped and sailed to Egypt. Once there, after finding out that Hermes, the son of Zeus, was ruling the land, she took flight again and went to Syria. She died there, on Mount Silpius, on the area of the future Antioch. Unable to find his daughter, Inachus sent Triptolemus and the Argives to search for her. When they

[103] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F9 = Malal. 2.12.
[104] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.14.

arrived in Syria and found that the girl had died there, they decided to settle in that land. They built a temple dedicated to Io on Mount Silpius and founded a city for themselves, which they called Iopolis after Io. The Argive Triptolemus and Io appear as mythical ancestors of the Antiocheans. Pausanias is claiming, therefore, that Antioch possessed an Argive kinship as illustrious as that emphasised by other Greek cities of the area.

In addition to Io and Triptolemus, Pausanias also claims Perseus among the Argive founders of Antioch. In F9, indeed, Pausanias tells us that Perseus, after discovering that his relatives from Argos lived in Syria, decided to go there and visit them. The Ionitai, after recognising that Perseus came from their same Argive race, honoured him. Perseus, then, built a temple for the fire, which descended from the sky on Mount Silpius and instructed the Ionitai to honour it.[105] The passage clearly shows that Pausanias considered it particularly relevant to highlight the Argive race of both the Ionitai and Perseus and to make clear that the visit of Perseus there was made on the basis of the Argive kinship they shared.

Pausanias certainly did not make up these mythological stories concerning the past of Antioch for the first time. Strabo had already made a brief mention of Triptolemus and his arrival in Antioch. The geographer writes: "Furthermore, Antioch is the metropolis of Syria […] Nicator also settled here the descendants of Triptolemus, whom I mentioned a little before.[…] It is said that he was sent by the Argives in search of Io, who disappeared first in Tyre, and that he wandered through Cilicia; and that there some of his Argive companions […] accompanied him into the next stretch of seaboard, gave up the search in despair, and remained with him in the river-country of the Orontes […]".[106] Interestingly, it seems that this story was still narrated in the second century AD and that Pausanias of Antioch was emphasising it. This claim to Argive pedigree that we have seen for Tarsus, Aegae, Byzantium, Gaza, and Antioch is not surprising if we take into account the cultural climate of the Second Sophistic, and how Argos was presented within it. Claiming a link with Argos and the Argives was indeed proof of an illustrious past, as Dio Chrysostom highlights:

> οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἐγὼ πατρίδα τοιαύτην οὕτω σφόδρα ἠγάπηκα ὥστε οὔτ' ἂν Ἀθήνας οὔτε Ἄργος οὔτε Λακεδαίμονα, αἵπερ εἰσὶ πρῶταί καὶ ἐνδοξόταται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, εἱλόμην ἂν εἶναί μοι πατρίδας πρὸ ταύτης·

[105] See Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming) for detailed information concerning this episode.
[106] Str. 16.2.5. (The translation of Strabo's text are from Jones 1917-1932).

> No wonder, then, if I myself have loved such a fatherland so greatly that I would not have chosen either Athens or Argos or Sparta, the foremost and most distinguished of the Greek cities, as my native land in preference to this one (Prusa).[107]

In this passage, Argos is considered to be among the most distinguished of the great Greek cities, on the same level as Athens and Sparta. It is therefore not hard to imagine that Pausanias would have wanted to claim a kinship for Antioch with the Argive city as well.

So far, we have seen those fragments of Pausanias which narrate the mythical times of Antioch, before the arrival of the city's historical founder. We have seen how the claim of Antioch's Argive ancestry made by Pausanias fits well into the cultural climate of the second and third century AD and engaged with the claim of a mythological past as elaborated by some Greek cities in the Roman East. I will now turn to the second part of the origin myth of Antioch from Pausanias which, as briefly stated above, narrates the foundation of the city by Seleucus I, the historical founder of the city (F10).[108] In what follows I will look at the general tendency of Hellenistic Greek cities in the Roman East to allege, in the second and third centuries AD, Alexander the Great as their civic founder and argue that Pausanias' emphasis on Seleucus I as the founder of Antioch can be read in light of this phenomenon.

2.2.3 Seleucus I and the revival of historical founders

Not only did Greek cities of the Roman Near East and Asia Minor emphasise their mythical founders but some of them also reshaped the stories concerning their historical founders. Claims of Alexander the Great as civic founder, in particular, flourished in this period. Dahmen has clearly demonstrated how this phenomenon was widespread in Asia Minor during the second and third centuries AD.[109] Cities in Asia Minor which were founded, as was Antioch, in the Hellenistic period recreated their past around the image of Alexander the Great. This was very probably influenced by the revival of the image of Alexander which was typical of the period of the Second Sophistic.[110] The most detailed

Figure 7: Dahmen (2004), plate 12 n. 12.1

[107] Dio Chr. *Or.*44.6. (Transl. by Crosby 1956).
[108] F 10 includes also the foundation stories of the other three cities of the Syrian Tetrapolis, namely Laodicea by the Sea, Seleucia Pieria and Apamea. For Apamea in Pausanias' account see chapter 3, sect. 3.2; for Laodicea and Seleucia see chapter 6.
[109] Dahmen (2007), 20-30.
[110] As briefly noted above, Alexander featured as one of the main themes of the Greek writers of the Second Sophistic. Impressive literary works on Alexander the Great that aimed to re-evaluate the image of the Greek conqueror, such as Arrian's *Anabasis*, Dio Chrysostom's *Orations on kingship*, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, were produced in the second century AD.

examples of this phenomenon are provided by the cities of Aegae, which we have already encountered before while discussing civic mythical beginnings, Smyrna and Alexandria Troas. I will now focus on these cities and their claims in detail before turning to Pausanias and to his presentation of Seleucus I as the founder of Antioch.

The first city I will look at is Aegae, in Cilicia. We have already seen in the previous section that Aegae, in this very period, claimed Perseus as its mythical founder. Although Antigonus Monophthalmus founded Aegae[111], from the Antonine period it claimed its foundation by Alexander the Great. Under Hadrian, the city minted bronze civic coins, bearing as obverse type the head of Alexander and the head of a goat (Fig. 7)[112]. Although, as we have already seen, the goat represents an ancient local tradition of Aegae, there is no previous evidence that supports the assertion of Alexander as the founder of the city.

Another example of this emphasis placed on Alexander is provided by Smyrna in Lydia. In the second century AD, the city re-shaped its foundation stories. Aelius Aristides (117-181 AD) frequently recalls these and, in various passages from his orations, also claims Alexander the Great among the founders of Smyrna.[113] It is interesting to note that Alexander appears among the founders of Smyrna for the first time in the second century AD.[114] This assertion is not supported by any earlier evidence[115], and modern scholars agree that Hellenistic Smyrna was in fact a foundation of one of Alexander's successors. [116]

This is also the case of Alexandria Troas, the last city I will look at. Founded at first by Antigonus Monophthalmus as Antigonia [117], the city was refounded by Lysimachus after he conquered Asia Minor, and renamed Alexandria.[118] From the second century AD onwards this city alleged Alexander as its founder and elaborated a new foundation story to accompany the claim. From the second

Figure 2: Group 1. Dahmen (2014), plate 14


Figure 9: Group 2. Dahmen (2014), plate 14.

[111] Cohen (1996), 356 ff.
[112] Ziegler (1998), 679-97; Dahmen (2007), 126; Lorber and Michaels (2007), 205-43.
[113] For Alexander, Tantalus and Thesues as founders of Smyrna see Arist. *Or*. 17.3-5; 19.4; 20.5; 21.3-4. See Behr (1981) for comments on this passages. Cf. Franco (2005); Desideri and Fontanella (2013) for the relationship between Aelius Aristides and Smyrna.
[114] See also Paus. 7.5.2. For the representation of Alexander on Smyrna's civic coinage see Dahmen (2007), 27 ff. See Mac Sweeny (2013), 187 ff. for a discussion on Smyrna's foundation myths during the archaic period.
[115] Strabo 14.1.37, for example, attributes its foundation to Antigonus and Lysimachus.
[116] Behr (1981), 356; Cohen (1996), 180 with discussion on scholarship.
[117] See Str. 13.33; 47; 52; Cohen (1996), 145 ff.
[118] Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 5.24.

century AD, two groups of civic coins were issued by Alexandria Troas. The first group of bronze coins bear as a reverse type a horseman standing by a statue of the god Apollo (Fig. 8)[119], while the other group has a warrior on foot performing a sacrifice in front of a statue of a god. In addition, an eagle is flying above the sacrificial meat carrying in its beak the head of a bull (Fig. 9).[120] Again, the city's assertion is not supported by any earlier evidence. These representations on the types are later attested by a foundation account mentioned in a passage from Menander Rhetor's second treatise.[121] Weiss has convincingly demonstrated how Menander, who lived in the third century AD, refers in his work to the very foundation myth of Alexandria:[122]

> Ἀλέξανδρος […] ἐπειδὴ προσέβαλε τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τοῖς τόποις, σύμβολα †μὲν ἐκίνησεν† ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα καταπέμποντος, καὶ κατασκευάζει τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην πόλιν, καθιερώσας αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Σμινθίῳ, δίκαιον αὐτοῦ προφαίνοντος κρίνας αὐτοῦ δεῖν κατοικίζειν πόλιν […]
>
> […] Alexander, [..] came to the temple and to the site whereupon he observed the signs for establishing the city, for the god had sent them; and he established this blessed town, consecrating it to Apollo Smintheus, and thinking it right that, as he was shown the symbols, it was convenient to found a city there […].[123]

This foundation account recalls some of the imagery on coinage, such as the god Apollo. On the other hand, Alexandria's coins explain how the god guided Alexander to the town by means of an eagle. Foundation stories and numismatic evidence from Alexandria Troas show therefore how in the second century AD this city also claimed Alexander the Great as its historical founder. These examples show that Greek cities of the Roman East founded in the Hellenistic period were affected by the renewed attention towards the civic Greek past of this time and towards the image of Alexander and engaged with it by alleging Alexander as their founder.

I will now turn to Pausanias and to his presentation of the historical founder of Antioch (F10). As regards the foundation of Antioch, he writes:

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[119] For further description see Weiss (1996), 159 and Dahmen (2007), 26; 127-28; 161.
[120] Weiss (1996), 159 and Dahmen (2007), 127-28; 161.
[121] For Menader and his works see Russell and Wilson (1981), 198; Heath (2004).
[122] Weiss (1996), 157-173 with his comments on this passage.
[123] Men. Rhet. 2.444.2-17 (All the translations of Menander's text in this chapter are from Russell and Wilson 1981).

καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐλθὼν ᾽Αντιγονίαι τῇ κτισθείσῃ ὑπὸ ᾽Αντιγόνου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ – ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς λίμνης ἐξερχομένου ἄλλου ποταμοῦ ᾽Αρχευθᾶ τοῦ καὶ ᾽Ιάφθα , ἐμεσάζετο ἡ πόλις ᾽Αντιγονία καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλείαι ἐκαθέζετο – καὶ ποιήσας ἐκεῖ θυσίαν τῶι Διὶ εἰς τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ ᾽Αντιγόνου κτισθέντας ἔκοψε τὰ κρέα, καὶ ηὔξατο ἅμα τῷ ἱερεῖ ᾽Αμφίονι μαθεῖν διαδιδομένου σημείου εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀφείλει οἰκῆσαι πόλιν ᾽Αντιγονίαν μετονομάζων αὐτὴν ἢ οὐκ ὀφείλει αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κτίσαι πόλιν ἄλλην ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ. καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος κατῆλθεν ἀετὸς μέγας, καὶ ἐπῆρεν ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως κρέα, καὶ ἀπῆλθε παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σίλπιον. καὶ καταδιώξας ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ εὗρε τὸ κρέας τὸ ἱερατικὸν καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἐπάνω ἑστῶτα. τοῦ δὲ ἱερέως καὶ τῶν ὀρνοσκόπων καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου ἑωρακότων τὸ θαῦμα, εἶπον ὅτι ᾽ἐνταῦθα δεῖ ἡμᾶς οἰκῆσαι, ἐν τῇ δὲ ᾽Αντιγονίαι οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς οἰκῆσαι, οὐτε δὲ γενέσθαι αὐτὴν πόλιν, ὅτι οὐ βούλονται τὰ θεῖα᾽.

He (i.e. Seleucus I) came to the city of Antigonia built by Antigonus Poliorcetes which was surrounded by another river, the Archeuthas, also known as Iaphtha, coming out of the lake, and was in a secure position. He made a sacrifice there in honour of Zeus at the altars built by Antigonus, and cut up the meat. He prayed with the priest Amphion to learn by the giving of a sign whether he ought to settle in the city of Antigonia, though changing its name, or whether he ought not to settle in it but build another city in another place. Suddenly a great eagle came down from the sky and picked up some meat from the burnt offering on the altar-fire and went off to Mount Silpius. He pursued it with his men, and found the sacred meat and the eagle standing on it. When the priest, the augurs and Seleucus saw the wonder, they said, "It is here that we must settle; we must not settle in Antigonia nor should it become a city, since the gods do not want this".[124]

The passage informs us that Seleucus, after defeating Antigonus, went to Antigonia. He sacrificed to the gods to decide whether he ought to settle in his city or whether he ought to found a new one. Suddenly, an eagle arrived, snatched part of the sacrificial victim and took it to the place where the future Antioch should be built. Interestingly, the story concerning the foundation of Antioch by Seleucus that we read in Pausanias presents strong similarities with that of Alexandria Troas.[125] The arrival of the eagle in this foundation account seems very much reminiscent of the eagle episode in the foundation myth of Alexandria.

[124] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12.
[125] A similar episode is narrated in the *Alexander Romance* (1.31-33). It has Alexander guided by an eagle to the site of the Serapeion.

I am not arguing that Pausanias, by transmitting the foundation story of Antioch as such, was responding directly to Alexandria Troas (despite the similarities between the two myths). There is no explicit evidence for this. However, it seems very likely that, in this general atmosphere of revival of a civic past which saw cities founded in the Hellenistic period alleging Alexander the Great as founder, Pausanias, too, might have emphasised Antioch's historical founder in his work. In addition to the foundation of Antioch, Pausanias also presents Seleucus, in the same fragment (F10), as the founder of Seleucia Pieria, Laodicea by the Sea, and Apamea which, together with Antioch, represent the so-called Syrian Tetrapolis. Their foundation stories are shorter and less detailed than the foundation myth of Antioch.[126] Nonetheless, they very much seem to aim at celebrating Seleucus I as civic founder. While the other Hellenistic cities such as Aegae, Smyrna, and Alexandria Troas attributed their foundation to Alexander the Great, Pausanias claimed Seleucus I, one of the generals of Alexander, as the founder of Antioch and the Tetrapolis. Thus, he negotiated the Seleucid cultural identity of the city within this cultural climate.

The idea that the mention of Seleucus in Pausanias' work was meant to emphasise the Seleucid founder within this cultural climate is further supported by numismatic and archaeological evidence from second-and third-century AD Antioch. This recalled the foundation story that we find in Pausanias and was meant to praise the foundation of the city and Seleucus I. Let us now look at the numismatic evidence. In the second century AD, Antioch produced, for the first time, bronze civic issues and "provincial imperial" issues in bronze and silver[127] bearing reverse types with details that allude to the myth concerning the foundation of the city by Seleucus. Bronze civic coins bearing an eagle-on-altar as reverse type were minted indeed for the first time under Antoninus Pius (Fig.10).[128] In addition, the eagle type also appears for the first time on SC bronze coins under Antoninus Pius. In this case, the eagle is holding a thigh of an animal in its talons (Fig.11).[129] Not only were these new eagle reverse types issued on bronze civic and SC coins of Antioch, but they also appeared on silver emissions in the same period. The city's mint produced, for the first time in the second century AD, silver tetradrachms with an eagle

Figure 10: Butcher (2004), plate 12 n.388

Figure 3: Butcher (2004), plate 11 nos. 314-324

Figure 12: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/hadrian/_antioch_AR4 Drachm_Prieur_156.txt

[126] See chapter 3, esp. sect. 3.2 for Apamea and chapter 6 for Seleucia Pieria and Laodicea.
[127] For information on civic bronze coins and 'provincial imperial' see Butcher (2012), 468-484.
[128] Butcher (2004), 371; plate 12 n. 388.
[129] Butcher (2004), 225; 367; plate 11 nos. 314-324. On SC bronze coins and their meaning, see Butcher (2012).

standing on an animal thigh as reverse type (Fig.12).[130] The eagle and all its attributes clearly remind one of the eagle in the foundation myth by Pausanias. It seems that the city of Antioch itself was claiming its foundation story.

Further interesting evidence of this is represented by the so-called Paseria relief discovered at the port of Paseria, in the territory of Laodicea, and dated between the end of the second and early third century AD (Fig.13).[131] The relief's scene presents an altar in the middle, with a burning sacrificial fire. On the right side of the altar the Tyche of Antioch is represented standing by a celestial sphere and holding a statuette of Apollo.[132] On the left side, Seleucus I is standing.[133] He is holding a bull for the sacrifice and a Nike is crowning him. An eagle is flying above the scene carrying the head of the bull in its beak. This relief clearly seems to recall the foundation story of the city that we read in Pausanias. Seleucus I is clearly emphasised as the founder of the city. Unfortunately, there is no numismatic or archaeological evidence concerning the mythical beginnings of Antioch. Nonetheless, all this evidence demonstrates that Pausanias' presentation of the myth of the origins of Antioch can be read in light of the cultural phenomena of the time. Pausanias, therefore, would have emphasised the Argive ancestry of the city to respond to claims of Greek mythical founders by other cities of Asia Minor and the Roman Near East. On the other hand, in order to engage with the presentation of Alexander the Great as the illustrious civic founder, Pausanias would have claimed Seleucus I instead as the founder of Antioch. This would have allowed the local historian to negotiate a place for the Seleucid city within the new cultural framework of the second and third century AD. We will see in the next section how the origins of Antioch claimed by Pausanias in his local history were revised and re-shaped by Libanius in the fourth century AD in order to vie with the past of the Greek city par excellence, Athens.

Figure13: Weiss (1996), 160

[130] Prieur 156; Butcher (2004), 91 Fig. 26, 11 for images.
[131] For further information on the capital and a clear image see Seyrig (1940), 340-344 pl. 1 and Weiss (1996), 160. See also Ogden (2011a), 103; (2011b), 151.
[132] The statuette of Apollo, according to Seyrig (1940), 342 would represent Apollo of the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne.
[133] Scholars, such as Seyrig (1940), agree in recognizing the Greek general represented in the relief as Seleucus I.

2.3 Libanius vs Aelius Aristides: the origins of Antioch as opposed to the origins of Athens

In this section I will focus on Libanius' *Or.*11, the so-called *Antiochicus*. This oration was composed in AD 356[134] on the occasion of the Olympic Games of Antioch where it was delivered. I argue that Libanius, in this work, rearranged and reshaped the stories of mythical beginnings and historical foundation of the city as transmitted by Pausanias in order to engage with Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaicus* and his depiction of the past of Athens. This also features prominently in the works of Menander Rhetor (third century AD). Menander wrote two handbooks of epideictic oratory, which aimed to give advice to students and rhetors on how to write city *encomia*, and presented the *Panathenaicus* and Athens as the best example to follow.[135] I will show how Libanius also engaged with Menander's works. His aim was to claim the past of Antioch to be as ancient and important as that of Athens as presented by Aelius Aristides and employed by Menander in his books.[136]

Libanius, it is acknowledged, was an admirer of Aelius Aristides.[137] From Libanius' letters we know that he exchanged painted portraits of Aristides with his friends.[138] Libanius' poor health, which is often pointed out by the author himself in his *Autobiography*, clearly echoes Aristides' condition as we read it in the *Sacred Tales*.[139] More interestingly, in addition, several declamations and orations of Libanius were written to respond to, and vie with, Aelius Aristides. Regarding this point, Libanius himself claims that: "If I were given the choice of either surpassing Midas in wealth or coming at least a little bit close to the art of this man (i.e. Aristides) I would immediately choose the second possibility […] whenever I make speeches I keep to the tracks of Aristides and try to make my productions similar to his as far as possible and to regard it as a prize in my life if someone in the audience remarks that we are alike".[140] It has been demonstrated that *Oration 5* (after AD 364), which is a prose

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[134] For a discussion concerning the dating of the oration see Wenzel (2010), 276 n. 56; also Norman (2000), 3; Petit (1983), 129–49.

[135] Russell and Wilson (1981), xxvix: "…classical prose models of laudes urbium are hard to find (in Menander's works) and the chief exemplification of the topics prescribed by Menander is to be sought in more recent masterpieces, notably Aristides' *Panathenaicus*"; see also p. 245.

[136] Scholars have noted that Libanius in his *Antiochicus* follows Menander's rules with particular consistency and that the structure of his oration follows the scheme provided by Menander for the writing of city encomia. However, nobody has, so far, focused on the treatment of the past and the foundation story of the city by Libanius according to Menander's rules. See Russell and Wilson (1981); Bouffartigue (1996), 52 ff.; Wenzel (2010), 277 ff.

[137] For relevant material see Pack (1947); Molloy (1996), 86-89; Swain (2004), 362-373; Cribiore (2008); Nesselrath (2014), 251-253; Watts (2014), 39-58; Millar (2009), 177-187; (2015), 213-244;.

[138] Letter 1534 written in AD 365 with Nesselrath (2014), 252; Watts (2014), 39 ff.

[139] Nesselrath (2014), 252.

[140] Lib. *Or.* 64.4.

hymn dedicated to Artemis, is indeed modelled on Aristides' *Oration 37* (*Hymn to Athena*).[141] Another example is Aristides' *Oration 18* (*Monody on Smyrna*), which is a model for Libanius *Oration 61*, better known as *Monody on Nicomedia* (AD 359).[142] In addition, Libanius wrote *Oration 64* (*To Aristides for the Dancers*) in AD 361 in order to respond to his second-century predecessor's lost oration *Against the Pantomimes*.[143] Aristides' influence on Libanius' works was particularly evident during the first phase of Libanius' activity (AD 355-365)[144], which began immediately after the sophist's return to Antioch (AD 354). In this very period, also the *Antiochicus* was composed. Scholars pointed out indeed that the *Antiochicus* presents some similarities with Aelius Aristides' famous oration 1, the *Panathenaicus*. Wenzel, for example, noted that Libanius' claims concerning the acceptance of immigrants by Antioch (11.164) reminds the reader of Athens' same policy as claimed by Aristides in the *Panathenaicus* (1.109-111).[145] The scholar also pointed out how Libanius' statements concerning Antioch's reputation as the home of rhetoric build on claims concerning Athens made by Aristides in his oration.[146]

I argue that also the stories concerning the past and the foundation of Antioch as presented by Libanius in the *Antiochicus* (11.42-106) present some engagement with Aristides' work. In order to demonstrate this, I will firstly focus on the mythical past of Antioch, and in particular on the images of Triptolemus, Casus, and on the divinity of the city and argue that these were re-shaped by Libanius according to Aristides' examples; then, I will look at the historical founders of the city and show how Libanius emphasised the images of Alexander the Great and Seleucus I in order to oppose the greatness of Antioch against that of Athens as emphasised by Aristides and employed by Menander in his handbooks.

Before this, however, I should like to comment on the relationship between Pausanias of Antioch and Libanius. It is widely accepted that the two texts present strong similarities when narrating the past of Antioch.[147] Libanius does follow Pausanias' narration of the mythical times of Antioch, as well as that concerning the foundation of the city by Seleucus I, extremely closely, focusing frequently on the same details. Therefore, although Pausanias

[141] Martin (1988), 133-135.
[142] Behr (1981), 358 n.1; Bekker-Nielsen (2008), 163 n.42; Nesselrath (2014), 252; Watts (2016) 319 n.2; also Saliou (2006), 275 who says that also the *Antiochicus* presents some common elements with Aristides' *Monody to Smyrna*.
[143] Haubold and Miles (2003), 24-34; Nesselrath (2014).
[144] Cribiore (2008), 264.
[145] Wenzel (2010), 277; the treatment of the foreigners in Libanius is also considered by Nock (1954) 78 ff.
[146] Wenzel (2010), 279. In the same contribution, Wenzel provides the readers with multiple examples of this.
[147] Downey (1961), 41 n.64; Fatouros and Krischer (1992), 84; Saliou (1999-2000), 357-388; Garstad (2011), 676.

was certainly not the only source used by Libanius to sketch the stories concerning the origins of Antioch, he and his work figure very likely among the main ones.

Let us now turn to the image of Triptolemus and see how this was reshaped by Libanius to vie with Athens' past. As regards the story of the arrival of Triptolemus and the Argives to the site of the future Antioch, Libanius' account follows the main lines of the account from Pausanias.[148] I will briefly summarise it for the sake of clarity. Inachus, king of Argos, had a daughter named Io. Zeus fell in love with the girl and lay with her. Upset by what had happened to her, Io escaped. Inachus seeking his daughter but unable to find her sent the Argives led by Triptolemus in search of the girl. After arriving in Syria and failing to find the girl, the group decided to settle there. They founded a city for themselves, which they called Ione/Iopolis after Io and built a temple to Zeus. The accounts from Pausanias and Libanius share some specific details, such as the knocking on doors by the Argives and the order by Inachus to not return to Argos should the searchers fail to find his daughter.

Yet, the story from Libanius presents interesting differences from Pausanias' account. Firstly, the detail of the death of Io in Syria, which we read from Pausanias' text, is omitted in the account from Libanius. According to Pausanias, Triptolemus and the Argives found that Io had died in Syria and because of the injunction by Inachus they had no choice but to remain there. On the other hand, Libanius tells his audience that the Argives, once they arrived in Syria, found themselves so in love with the country that they ceased the search for Io and decided to settle there. Although they were aware of Inachus' injunction, they "were willing to be cut off from their native land".[149] Another adjustment of the myth by Libanius regards the identity and kinship of Inachus. Libanius informs that the king was the son of Gae[150] whereas, according to Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, Inachus was the son of Oceanus and Thetis.[151] However, Apollodorus writes that Oceanus and Gae generated Triptolemus.[152] Given the connection that the city of Antioch presents with Triptolemus, it would not be surprising that Libanius decided to present Inachus as having a direct kinship, through Oceanus and Gae, with Triptolemus himself.[153] In addition to this detail concerning Inachus, Libanius emphasises the connection between the Io of the Antiochene myth and the more

[148] For Pausanias see sect. 2.2.2; for the full story in Libanius see *Or*. 11.42-52.
[149] Lib. *Or*.11.47-50.
[150] Lib. *Or.* 11.44.
[151] Apoll. *Bibl*. 2.1.1. For Inachus, see also Gantz (1993), 198-211.
[152] Apoll. *Bibl*. 1.5.2.
[153] Pausanias in Malal. 2.6 presents Inachus as the son of Japheth. This however has been considered by Garstad as a detail later interpolated by Malalas. Garstad (2011), 676.

traditional version of the myth concerning Io by claiming that Hera transformed the girl into a cow.[154] Pausanias does not consider these details; he refers to Io as heifer in his text, but does not mention Hera or Io's transformation. The most interesting details for my argument, however, concern the agricultural activity linked to Triptolemus after he founded the new city. According to Libanius:

> οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ὁ κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Ἀργείας κόρης ἱδρύσας ὃν ἦγε λαὸν πόλιν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει Νεμείου προσειπών, Ἰώνην δὲ τῇ πόλει τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνάχου θυγατρός. […] ἤδη δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοί τε καὶ καρπούμενοι μετονομάζουσι τὸν Νέμειον Ἐπικάρπιον. Τριπτόλεμος μὲν οὖν τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις βαλόμενος τῇ πόλει μεθίσταται καὶ διὰ τῶν τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἠριθμεῖτο·
>
> And so Triptolemus, who had set out in search of the Argive maiden, settled the people whom he had brought with him and built a city under the mountain and in the city a temple of Zeus, whom he called Nemean; but he gave the name Ione to the city, from the daughter of Inachus. [...] And when they worked the land and reaped its fruits, they changed the epithet of Zeus from Nemean to Fruit-bringing. So Triptolemus, when he had laid the first foundations of the city, was removed from among men and because of the honors due him was numbered among the heroes.[155]

What is interesting in this passage is the allusion, which is completely absent from Pausanias' account, to Triptolemus and his companions' agricultural activity, which they practiced on the land after they settled there. According to Libanius, Triptolemus cultivated the land. This resulted in fruits for the land and, implicitly, for the people of the city. I argue that Libanius inserted this symbolic detail on purpose. Let us now turn to Aristides' *Panathenaicus* and see what he tells us while discussing the beginning of Athens:

> πέμπουσι δὴ θείᾳ πομπῇ γῆν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου, καθάπερ θεωρικοῦ τινος διάδοσιν ἐπιστήσαντες τῶν Δήμητρος, ὡς λέγεται, τροφίμων ἕνα, καὶ τὸ ἅρμα πτερωτὸν εἶναι φήμη κατέσχεν, ὅτι θᾶττον ἐλπίδος ἦει πανταχοῦ, […] ἔτι δὲ αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖαι, δι᾽ ὧν μητρόπολιν τῶν καρπῶν ὀνομάζει τὴν πόλιν, ἄμφω μαρτυρῶν, καὶ πρώτην ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρ᾽ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι.
>
> They (the Gods) sent, in a divine mission, the first means of life to every land, just like a festival-distribution, having put in charge, as is said, one of the foster-children of Demeter (i.e.

[154] Apoll. *Bibl*. 2.1.3.
[155] Lib. *Or*. 11.51-52. (All the translations of Libanius' *Or*. 11 in this work are from Downey 1959). The full text of Libanius' foundation myth of Antioch can be found in Appendix I.

> Triptolemus); and tradition told that his chariot was winged because he went everywhere faster than anticipated […] And there are also oracles from the God in which he names the city "the mother city of the crops" and attests two things: that it first had crops and that the others received from it.[156]

In the passage, Aristides is claiming that Athens was the first city to receive crops from the gods and praises it for having then dispensed them to the other people with the help of Triptolemus. It seems that Libanius might have had in mind this presentation of Athens when connecting the Antiochene Triptolemus with the agricultural activity.

Then, we find an echo of this very passage in Menander Rhetor who, taking Aristides and this very passage as his model, advises his readers to add a section on nurture in their oration in praise of a city:

> μετὰ δὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς φύσεως λόγον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀνατροφῆς θήσεις, ἐὰν ἔχῃς ἐν πατρίοις, ὡς ὁ Ἀριστείδης εὐπόρησεν εἰπὼν ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τοὺς καρποὺς ἔλαβον καὶλαβόντες τοῖς ἄλλοις μετέδοσαν·
>
> After the section on nature, you should place the section on nurture, if you have material for it in the tradition, as Aristides was able to do, when he said that the Athenians were given their crops by Demeter and that they then gave them to the others […][157]

This passage from Menander, as well as that from Aristides, emphasises the connection between Athens and agriculture, which was offered to the city by Demeter as a gift, and which was later further developed by Triptolemus. It seems that Libanius, by rearranging the story concerning Triptolemus and emphasising the reference to agriculture, meant to echo this Athenian theme and to claim it for Antioch, too. His aim was to vie with the presentation of Athens as depository of the seeds of agriculture claimed by Aristides in his *Panathenaicus* and emphasised by Menander.

The passage from the *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides highlights another theme that appears quite frequently in Aristides' oration. I am referring to the persistent presence of the god or gods in the main stages of the foundation and growth of Athens. As it can be seen from the text, Aristides emphasises the assistance of the divinity (Demeter in this case) in a fundamental stage of Athens' beginning. The presence of the divinity appears also in another

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[156] Arist. *Or*. 1.167-168 (All the translations of Aristides' texts in this chapter are from Oliver 1968).
[157] Men. Rhet. 384.14-18.

section of the *Panathenaicus* and its role is, again, to assist Athens in its foundation and development as a polis.

> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνῆκεν ἡ χώρα τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐκόσμει καὶ κατεσκεύαζε τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς, ἃ μητρὸς ἦν ἔργα ποιοῦσα […] καὶ γίγνεται δὴ πανήγυρις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱερὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν θεωρίᾳ πάντα εἰς ἅμιλλαν κατέστη. ἔρρωτο μὲν ἡ γῆ πρὸς ἁπάσας γονὰς, θεοὶ δὲ συμφέροντες παρεῖχον οἱ μὲν φυτὰ, οἱ δὲ σπέρματα, οἱ δὲ βοσκήματα […] καίτοι ταῦτα οὐ μόνον τοῦ πλήθους ἕνεκα τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ φύντων καὶ φανέντων φιλοτιμίαν ἔχει τῇ πόλει […] καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε ἀμήχανον μὴ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντας […]
>
> After producing her men, the land trained them and prepared their sustenance, performing a mother's tasks […] And there came here a gathering which was in truth a sacred assembly, in behalf of the whole inhabited world, and all offerings were made in rivalry as in the presence of spectators. The earth was eager to produce all, and deities contributing provided, some of them plants, other seeds, other animals […] and, in fact, these offerings not only give the city by their number pride in what here both grew and was revealed […] Again, it was impossible for them to receive what they needed unless they were dear to the gods.[158]

This passage comes from the initial part of the *Panathenaicus*, where Aristides praises the origins of Athens, and precedes the passage concerning the gift of agriculture donated by the god to Athens. Aristides praises Athens' autochthonous origins; nonetheless, he does also emphasise the presence of the gods and the help they offer to Athens in the first stages of its formation. The divinities gathered together, according to Aristides, and contributed with offerings to the city's growth. Toward the end of the oration, Aristides stresses this again by stating that: "all this comes from the Gods who wish in every way to honour Athens".[159]

This constant presence of the divine element, which supervised and guided the city through its early development can also be found in Libanius. Let us see some examples of this. Regarding the arrival of the mythical population of Antioch, Libanius writes:

> σκοπείτω δή τις τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ ὡς ὅτιπερ κράτιστον τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ, τοῦτο ἐνταυθοῖ συνερρύηκεν, ὥσπερ εἴς τι χωρίον ἐξηρημένον ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων θαυμάσαι.

[158] Arist. *Or.* 1.165-168.
[159] Arist. *Or.* 1.308.

> Let one consider our noble descent, and the way in which whatever was finest in all places has flowed together here, as though to a place chosen by the gods to receive men worthy of admiration.[160]

According to Libanius, the gods arranged the arrival of the finest population into Antioch. This presence of the divinity is emphasised, again, in the following passage:

> ὁ Σέλευκος ἔθυε […] Ζεὺς δὲ κινήσας ἐκ τοῦ σκήπτρου τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φίλον ὄρνιν […] ἐδόκει τε δὴ πᾶσι […] ὁ Ζεὺς εἰσηγεῖσθαι πολίζειν τὸν χῶρον […] καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος διὰ τῆς μαντείας οἰκιστὴς ἐγίγνετο.
>
> […] Seleucus offered sacrifice […] and Zeus dispatched from his sceptre and sent to the altar his companion the beloved bird […] and it seemed to all […] that Zeus was advising that a city be built on the place. […] Thus the chief of the gods became our founder through his prophetic sign.[161]

This time, Zeus, the chief of the gods, is mentioned by Libanius. Not only is he claimed to have guided Seleucus throughout the foundation of the city, but the city itself was founded according to his own desire. The presence of the gods in Antioch echoes that of the gods in Aristides' Athens. According to the passages, it seems that the gods, and Zeus in particular, played a very important role in the initial stages of Antioch and, according to Libanius' claims, the foundation of the city itself was decided by them. Interestingly, this focus on the gods is almost absent from Pausanias' text. There is only one reference to the gods in the whole account from Pausanias concerning the past of Antioch. [162] However, no Zeus is mentioned and no emphasis at all is put on the divine presence in the process of city-foundation. It very much seems that Libanius, again, has reshaped the myth to follow his own agenda.

Menander Rhetor also considers claiming the gods among the founders of a city an important element. In his treatise, he advises his readers as such:

> αἰτίαι τοίνυν οἰκισμῶν πόλεων ἢ θεῖαι ἢ ἡρωϊκαὶ ἢ ἀνθρώπιναι. […] οὐσῶν δὲ τούτων τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ τοιουτοτρόπων εἰδέναι σε χρὴ ὅτι ἐνδοξόταται μὲν αἱ θεῖαι, δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ ἡρωϊκαί, τρίται δὲ αἱ ἀνθρωπικαί·

[160] Lib. *Or.* 11.57.
[161] Lib. *Or*. 11.85-88.
[162] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12. Interestingly there is no mention of Zeus but only of unspecified gods.

> the causes of the foundations of cities are either divine, heroic, or human […][163] it is to be observed that divine ones give the greatest prestige, heroic ones come second, and human ones third.[164]

According to Menander, claiming the divinity as the founder of a city gives it the greatest prestige. Therefore, as seen so far, not only was Libanius reacting to Aristides' depiction of Athens's origins, but he was also following Menander's instructions. Although, unfortunately, Menander does not mention Athens explicitly when he refers to the divine origins of a city.

The last element I will look at, concerning the mythical times of Antioch, is the image of Casus. This character features prominently in both the works of Pausanias and Libanius. Yet, the image depicted by Libanius does present differences from that in Pausanias' work. Let us start with the text from Pausanias and see how he treats the arrival and the activity of Casus in Antioch:

> κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κρῆτας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, οὓς ἔασεν ὁ Κάσος ὁ υἱὸς Ἰνάχου ἄνω οἰκεῖν, οἵτινες μετοικήσαντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν Ἀντιόχειαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν Κυπρίων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κάσος βασιλεὺς ἠγάγετο Ἀμυκὴν τὴν καὶ Κιτίαν, θυγατέρα Σαλαμίνου τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως· καὶ ἦλθον μετ᾽ αὐτῆς Κύπριοι, καὶ ᾤκησαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τελευτᾶι ἡ Ἀμυκή, καὶ ἐτάφη ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ϱ̄, δι᾽ ἣν ἐκλήθη ἡ χώρα Ἀμυκή.
>
> He (i.e. Seleucus I) also brought the Cretans down from the acropolis, whom Casus, the son of Inachus, had left to live up there. They had migrated to Antioch with the Cypriots when King Casus married Amyce, otherwise known as Citia, who was the daughter of Salaminus the king of Cyprus. The Cypriots came with her and settled on the acropolis. Amyce died and was buried 100 stades from the city. It is because of her that the chora was named Amyce.[165]

Pausanias is referring here to the population transferred to Antioch by Seleucus after the foundation of the city. We find the same passage in Libanius[166] who, however, in addition to this, dedicates another section of his work to explain in more detail the arrival of Cretans and Cypriots in Antioch. This section reads as follows:

> θεὸς δὲ ᾧ κατὰ νοῦν ἡ πόλις κατεσκευάζετο, βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐξῆσαι γενῶν κινεῖ Κάσον ἐκ Κρήτης, ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, καὶ δεῦρο ἄγει, τῷ δὲ ἄρα εἵπετο Κρητῶν τὸ

[163] Men. Rhet. 357.15-16; See also 353.9-10: "If we enquire who the founder was, we say whether he was a god, hero, or man […]".
[164] Men. Rhet. 358.31-359.
[165] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.14.
[166] Lib. *Or*. 11.91.

δοκιμώτατον. ἐλθόντες δὲ εὗρον τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀμείνους τῶν οἴκοι. Μίνως μὲν γὰρ φθονῶν ἐξέβαλεν […] ὁ Κάσος […] καὶ κατιδὼν τῶν Τριπτολέμου νομίμων τὰ πολλὰ μεθεστηκότα ταῦτά τε ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὴν Κασιῶτιν ᾤκισε. μείζω δὲ ἤδη περίνοιαν λαμβάνων ἐπιχειρεῖ κτήσασθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν Κυπρίων εὔνοιαν καὶ γαμεῖ τὴν θυγατέρα Σαλαμίνου, ὃς ἐτυράννει Κυπρίων. πλεούσῃ δὲ τῇ παρθένῳ συνανήγετο στόλος παραπομπὴν τῇ νύμφῃ ποιοῦντες θαλάττιον. ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσαντο τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀφεῖσαν τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἐγένοντο μοῖρα τῇ πόλει. σημεῖον δὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἄν τις τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν βεβοῆσθαι τὸν Κάσον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα νήσου τοσαύτης τὸ κῆδος ἀσμένως συνάψασθαι καὶ τῆς γε ἡμερότητος τοῦ Κάσου σημεῖον τὸ τοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν κόρην ἀνθελέσθαι τῶν φιλτάτων τὴν προστασίαν ἐκείνου.

Then the god according to whose desire the city was created, wishing it to be increased by the finest races, moved Casus to leave Crete, a goodly man, and brought him here, and the noblest of the Cretans followed him. When they came, they found the Argives better than the people they had left at home. For Minos in jealousy had driven them out; […] Casus […] seeing that many of the laws of Triptolemus had been altered, revived them, and he founded Casiotis. And as he acquired greater knowledge of affairs, he sought to win the good will of the people of Cyprus for the city, and married the daughter of Salaminus, who ruled over the people of Cyprus. As the maiden set sail, there came with her a fleet which formed an escort over the sea for the bride. And when they tasted the pleasures of our land, they gave up their island and became a part of the city. One could find proof of Casus being celebrated because of his virtues in the fact that the ruler of so great an island was glad to be connected with him by marriage, and proof also of the kindness of Casus in the circumstance that those who brought the maiden preferred his protection to their dearest kin.[167]

As can be seen from the account, the story from Libanius recalls that from Pausanias. Yet, it provides us with more and different details. Clearly, Libanius is particularly interested in the character of Casus more than in the Cypriots. This seems evident from the last sentence of Libanius' passage, where the author concludes his excursus on Cretans and Cypriots by expanding on the virtues and kindness of Casus. It is the image of Casus indeed that changes most from Pausanias' account. In the story from Pausanias, Casus is presented as the son of Inachus; he left the Cretans to live on the Mount Silpius when he married the daughter of the king of Cyprus. Libanius, too, has Casus arriving in the land with some Cretans. Differently from the account from Pausanias, however, Casus arrived in Antioch because he was escaping from Minos (and he married the daughter of Salaminus only after he arrived in

[167] Lib. *Or*. 11.52-55.

Antioch). As for the story of Io, the story of Casus is placed by Libanius into a wider mythological tradition concerning Minos. The Cretan king is known to have expelled Cretans from his land. Some of them, such as Miletus, went to Asia Minor and founded new cities there.[168] By presenting Casus as one among those Cretans who escaped from Minos, Libanius does seem to refer to this tradition. More interestingly, Libanius also seems to follow another tradition that associates Minos and the Cretans with the activity of law making. Apollodorus describes the Cretan Rhadamanthys and Minos as lawgivers.[169] According to the passage above, Casus himself is presented by Libanius as linked with the activity of law making. He revives the laws of Triptolemus. This connection between Casus and the laws is further stressed by Libanius at the end of his excursus on the mythical times of Antioch:

> καὶ μόνοις ἡμῖν αἱ ῥίζαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις σεμνὰ συνήγαγον εἰς ταυτό, τὴν Ἀργείων παλαιότητα, τὴν Κρητικὴν εὐνομίαν, γένος ἐκ Κύπρου βασίλειον, τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀπορροήν.
>
> We alone have origins which have brought together in the same place the noble elements provided by each of our sources: the high antiquity of the Argives, the just laws of the Cretans, a royal race from Cyprus, and the line of Heracles.[170]

As the passage shows, the Cretans are associated with laws and Antioch, thanks to them, is provided with justice since mythical times. I argue that Libanius made this addition according to a clear agenda, namely to engage with Aelius Aristides' depiction of Athens as the law-giver par excellence.

In the *Panathenaicus*, it is clearly emphasised that Athena provided the city with the system of laws:

> λαβοῦσα δὲ τὰς ψήφους ἡ θεὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει δίδωσιν ὡς ἑαυτῆς οὔσῃ καὶ κατεσκευάσατο ὡς κτῆμα ἑαυτῆς, διαρκῆ πρὸς εἰρήνην τε καὶ πόλεμον, πρῶτον μὲν λόγους τε καὶ νόμων τάξιν καταδείξασα καὶ πολιτείαν δυναστείας ἀπηλλαγμένην.
>
> Upon receiving the support of their ballots, Athena named the city, since it was hers, with the name it has, and as her own property she put it into good condition, amply provided both for

[168] For Miletus see Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.2.1; Paus. 7.2.5; see also Saliou (1999-2000), 362; Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming).
[169] Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.1.2: "Rhadamanthys made laws for the inhabitants of the island but afterwards he went to Boeotia and married Alcmena; and since his death he acts as judge in Hades with Minos. Minos, residing in Crete, legislated".
[170] Lib. *Or*. 11.57.

peace and for war. First she taught her people art of discourse and a system of laws and showed them a civic constitution far removed from a government of force.[171]

Here Aristides is reminding his audience of the gifts Athena gave to the city; rhetoric and laws are listed among the first gifts. The fact that Athens received laws and was lawgiver itself is stressed again in the following passage:

οἷον εἰ φιλοτιμοῖτο ἡ μὲν ὡς πρώτη τεκοῦσα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἡ δ᾽ ὡς πρώτη δείξασα τοὺς καρποὺς, ἡ δὲ ὡς πλείστοις μεταδοῦσα, ἡ δέ τις ὡς νόμους καταδείξασα […]

For example, if one city were to praise herself that she first gave birth to the human race, another that she first produced the crops of agriculture, another that she gave them to the majority of men, another that she invented laws […][172]

In this passage, Aristides praises the superiority of Athens over all the other cities. It is presented as the one which invented laws. Libanius' choice of presenting Casus as the Cretan law-giver of Antioch might have been made in order to vie with this representation of Athens.

In addition, Menander in his treatises advises his readers to emphasise the city's system of law and justice. Again, Athens stands among the best examples to follow.

οὕτως ἐρεῖς […] καὶ ὅτι εἰ ἔδει νῦν νομοθετεῖν, ἐνομοθέτησεν ἂν τῷ κοινῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς Ἕλλησι· ποῦ μὲν γὰρ Σόλωνες πλείους τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν; ποῦ δὲ Λυκοῦργοι βελτίους; ποῦ δὲ Μίνωες καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυες [οἱ τῶν Κρητῶν νομοθέται];

You should say: […] if there had still been need of lawgiving, it would have legislated for mankind universally as Sparta and Athens did once for the Greeks. For where are there more Solons than with us? Where are the better Lycurguses, Minoses, or Rhadamanthyses (the lawgivers of the Cretans)?[173]

Interestingly, Menander also mentions the Cretan Minos and Rhadamanthys as examples of law-givers. This echoes Libanius' presentation of Casus as law-giver for Antioch, who, as we have said, was following very attentively Menander's suggestions. Therefore, by presenting Casus as such in the *Antiochicus*, Libanius would have compared Antioch to the Athens presented by both Aristides and Menander.

[171] Aristid *Or.* 1.169.
[172] Aristid *Or.* 1.300.
[173] Men. Rhet. 386.1-6.

As we have seen so far, it seems that Libanius re-shaped the mythical times of Antioch inserting symbolic details which would create a connection between Antioch and Athens as described by Aelius Aristides in his *Panathenaicus* and emphasised by Menander. Antioch could claim, from its beginning, Triptolemus and the gift of agriculture, supervision and endorsement from the divinity, and the ability to make just laws.

I will now turn to see how Libanius treats the historical founder(s) of Antioch. Again, Libanius' narrative presents some similarities with that of Pausanias. Yet, it also shows differences, first of all the appearance of Alexander the Great in the foundation myth of the city. The first part of the story concerning the foundation of Antioch by Seleucus I is narrated by both authors in the same way. After defeating Antigonus in war, Seleucus went to Antigonia. Once in the city, he made a sacrifice in order to know whether he ought to found a new city there or somewhere else. Suddenly an eagle appeared from the sky, snatched part of the sacrificial victim from the altar and placed it at a different site. Seleucus and his entourage followed the eagle and stopped where the meat had been thrown.[174] At this point the two stories take a different turn. Pausanias writes:

> καὶ λοιπὸν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὰς ῥύσεις τοῦ Σιλπίου ὄρους καὶ τοὺς κατερχομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ χειμάρρους, ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι τοῦ αὐλῶνος κατέναντι τοῦ ὄρους πλησίον τοῦ Δράκοντος ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ μετακληθέντος Ὀρόντου, ὅπου ἦν ἡ κώμη ἡ καλουμένη Βοττία ἄντικρυς τῆς Ἰωπόλεως, ἐκεῖ διεχάραξαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ τείχους, θυσιάσας δι᾽ Ἀμφίονος ἀρχιερέως καὶ τελεστοῦ κόρην παρθένον ὀνόματι Αἰμάθην […] κτίσας εὐθέως καὶ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐκάλεσε Βωττίου Διός, ἀνεγείρας καὶ τὰ τείχη σπουδαίως φοβερὰ διὰ Ξεναίου ἀρχιτέκτονος
>
> Then he discussed with them (i.e. his companions) where to place the city to make it secure. Since he was afraid of the streams from Mount Silpius and the torrents that came down from it, it was there on the floor of the valley, opposite the mountain near the great river Dracon, renamed the Orontes, on the site of the village known as Bottia, opposite Iopolis, that they marked out the foundations for the wall. Through the agency of Amphion, the chief priest and wonder worker, he sacrificed a virgin girl named Aemathe, […] He immediately built a temple which he called that of Zeus Bottius, and raised up the walls also to be really tremendous with the help of the architect Xenaeus […][175]

[174] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12 ; Lib. *Or*. 11.84-87.
[175] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12.

According to the passage, Seleucus, in order to avoid the streams from Mount Silpius would have founded his new city far from the mountain on the site of the village of Bottia, which seems to be a pre-existing settlement recalling a Macedonian name. Seleucus would have sacrificed a virgin girl, named Aemathe. Although scholars agree in considering the human sacrifice as a later interpolation by Malalas or his source rather than Pausanias' words, the name Aemathe is nonetheless of some interest.[176]

If we look at the story as narrated by Libanius, we can see indeed that the name Aemathe appears again (modified in Emathia) and, differently from Pausanias' account, it is associated with Alexander the Great:

> ὁ δ' ἱππεύων τε καὶ ἀναβλέπων ἄγεται πρὸς τὴν Ἡμαθίαν ὑπὸ τῆς πτήσεως. οἳ δὴ κατάρας ὁ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔθηκε τὸν τοῦ Βοττιαίου Διός, ὃν ἱδρυσάμενος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἡνίκα αὐτὸν εὔφρανεν ἡ πηγή· […]
>
> And he (i.e. Seleucus I), riding with his gaze fixed upward, was guided to Emathia by the flight of the bird. The eagle, descending there, placed the offerings on the altar of Zeus Bottius, which had been founded by Alexander, when the spring refreshed him […] [177]

According to this passage, Seleucus would have founded Antioch on a previous settlement founded by Alexander. The village of Bottia described by Pausanias in the previous passage would be, in Libanius, the temple of Zeus Bottiaeus. The virgin Aemathe mentioned in the text from Pausanias would be the place Emathia in Libanius' passage. Differently from Pausanias, Libanius, before narrating the arrival of Seleucus in Antioch, dedicates five chapters of his oration (72-76) to narrating the arrival of Alexander the Great at Antioch and the foundation of the citadel of Emathia and the temple of Zeus Bottiaeus by him. Here is the most relevant part of the excursus:

> διττῷ δὲ πόθῳ κατειλημμένος, τῷ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑπολοίπων κτῆσιν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀναγκάζοντος μένειν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπείγοντος τρέχειν [καὶ] τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνθελκόμενος εἰς οἰκισμόν τε καὶ πόλεμον οὐκ ἐποιήσατο κώλυμα θατέρῳ θάτερον οὐδὲ ἠνέσχετο οὔτε τὴν ὅλην σπουδὴν ἀνελεῖν διὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ἐκείνην πληρῶν ἦν εἰς

[176] Scholars tend to agree in considering the insertion of human sacrifices in this passage as well as in other parts of Malalas' as a later Christian addition, by Malalas himself or by one of his sources, meant to criticise and discredit the Greek-pagan religion. Human sacrifice can also be found in the foundation myth of Laodicea and in other sections of Malalas' work; see, for example, Malal. 2.7; 11; 5.35; 8.17; 9.13; 10.10; 35; 11.9; 13.7. For a detailed study and discussion on this topic see Dohrn (1960); Becchi (2001), 111-127; Garstad (2005), 669-691; (2011); Saliou (2006b), 69-95; Saliou (2017), 101; Asirvatham in *BNJ* 854; Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming).

[177] Lib. *Or*. 11.88.

τὸ πολίζειν ἔσχεν ἐπιθυμίαν σβέσαι, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐχόμενος τῇ μὲν ἐδίδου τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν. αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ κατοικισμοῦ Ζεὺς Βοττιαῖος ἱδρυθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου <καὶ> ἡ ἄκρα τῆς ἐκείνου πατρίδος λαβοῦσα τοὔνομα καὶ Ἡμαθία κληθεῖσα. τουτὶ δέ, οἶμαι, σύμβολον ἦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γνώμης, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῶν πραγμάτων τήνδε ἀντὶ τῆς οἰκείας αἱρήσεται.

Possessed of a two-fold desire, both for our land, and for the possession of the remaining lands, and constrained by the one to remain, and driven by the other to hasten on, and with his soul torn between the desire to settle and the desire to carry on the war, he (i.e. Alexander) did not make either of these wishes an obstacle to the other; for he did not insist either upon ruining his whole purpose for the sake of the city, or upon fulfilling that purpose, and giving up the desire which he had to found the city; but maintaining both plans he gave the city (i.e. Antioch) its beginnings, and led his army on to Phoenicia. The beginnings of the settlement were a shrine of Zeus Bottiaeus founded by Alexander, and the citadel, which took the name of this fatherland and was called Emathia. And this I think was an indication of Alexander's purpose, namely that after the completion of his deeds he would choose this place in preference to his homeland.[178]

Although scholars believe it not impossible that Alexander passed by Syria/Antioch, they have argued that this was very unlikely.[179] I argue that this reference to Alexander as the pre-founder of Antioch seems very much another of Libanius' adjustments of the foundation myth. The presence of Alexander in Antioch is briefly mentioned by Malalas in book 10 of his work. According to the passage, Alexander had stopped by Antioch and, after tasting the water of a spring, he built the Olympian fountain where the spring was, naming it after his mother.[180] It very much seems an *aetiology* elaborated to explain the name of a real spring at Antioch. Libanius, too, does narrate this story which he placed at the beginning of the excursus on Alexander.[181] He, however, is the only author who pushes the story further and claims that Alexander also founded the citadel of Emathia and the temple of Zeus Bottiaeus in Antioch.[182] The passage from Pausanias where Bottia and Aemathe/Emathia are mentioned was, unfortunately, clearly altered by Malalas, as noted above. We do not know how Aemathe was presented in the original version from Pausanias and whether Alexander was mentioned at all. I would suggest that Alexander, in any case, was not mentioned in the version from Pausanias. Why would Malalas have removed Alexander from this passage

[178] Lib. *Or.* 11.75-76.
[179] Norman (2000),20 n.30 with bibliography.
[180] Malal 10.10. Nobody has so far attributed this passage to Pausanias. The same episode is also recorded by an epigram from the Palatine Anthology, *Anth. Pal.* 9.699.
[181] Lib. *Or.* 11.72-74.
[182] Norman (2000), 20 n.33.

concerning the foundation of Antioch since later, in book 10, he accepted his presence in Antioch and narrated the story of the spring? Libanius might have inserted this detail of the story.

This would be further supported by the fact that Alexander-related themes also appear when Libanius describes the first outlining of the city made by Seleucus and his entourage:

> ἐνταῦθα δὴ Σέλευκος πᾶσαν μὲν τεκτόνων συνήγαγε τέχνην, πᾶσαν δὲ εἰς ὑπουργίαν χεῖρα, πᾶσαν δὲ λίθων φαιδρότητα· […] ὑπογράφων δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας κατὰ τὴν χώραν διίστη τῶν ἐσομένων πύργων, στοῶν δὲ καὶ στενωπῶν μῆκός τε καὶ εὖρος τεμνόμενος πυροῖς ἐχρῆτο πρὸς τὴν τομήν, οὓς ἄγουσαι νῆες είστήκεσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ.
>
> Then Seleucus collected artisans representing every skill, all sources of labour for assistance, and all the finest possible stones. […] Outlining the city, he stationed the elephants at intervals, at the places where the towers were to be, and to mark out the length and breadth of colonnades and side streets he used, for the dividing lines, wheat which had been brought by ships which stood in the river.[183]

These details, such as the outlining of the city and the employment of wheat, are not present in the passage from Pausanias, although the local historian briefly mentions the construction of the walls of the new city, as can be seen in the passage above. This description, on the other hand, clearly recalls the foundation myth of Alexandria by Alexander. A similar story is indeed told about the foundation of Alexandria by the ancient authors from the time of Strabo.[184] Libanius seems to be particularly interested in linking the foundation to Alexander and his city, Alexandria. Therefore, according to Libanius, not only could Antioch claim Seleucus, the general of Alexander, as one of its founders but also Alexander the Great himself.

Claiming Alexander as civic founder was surely meant by Libanius to give prestige to the foundation (in front of his audience at the Olympic games). This, I argue, might have also had another aim. Aristides, in his *Panathenaicus*, emphasises Alexander's reverence towards Athens:

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[183] Lib. *Or*. 11.89-90.

[184] Str. 17.1.6: "Writers record […] an incident which occurred at the time of tracing the lines of the foundation: When the architects were marking the lines of the enclosure with chalk, the supply of chalk gave out; and when the king arrived, his stewards furnished a part of the barley-meal"; Arr. *Anab*. 3.2.1; Plut. *Alex*. 26.5; Amm. Marc. 22.16.7.

ἄξιον τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς εἰπεῖν ὅσον παρὰ πάντων ἐστί τε καὶ γέγονε τῇδε τῇ πόλει καὶ κατὰ πάντας ἀεὶ τοὺς χρόνους. […] καὶ σιωπῶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἀεὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔσχε θεραπευτικῶς.

We should speak of how much reverence everyone shows and has shown continuously at all time to this city. […] And I need not to mention the fact that Alexander was always solicitously disposed toward it.[185]

Alexander was *well disposed* towards Athens according to Aristides; however, he *did found* Antioch according to Libanius. Antioch, therefore, could claim its foundation by Alexander while Athens was only revered by him.

To make such a claim is also recommended by Menander in his treatises, which, as we have seen, seemed to have been followed keenly by Libanius. At various times he advises the writer of encomia of cities to praise Alexander as being among the founders of the city. The following passage from Menander's second treatise is particularly interesting:

[…] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὁ μηδὲ Ἡρακλέους λειπόμενος μηδὲ Διονύσου νομισθεὶς εἶναι χείρων, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ μέγιστον καὶ πλεῖστον μέρος μιᾷ χειρὶ Διὸς παῖς ὄντως χειρωσάμενος, ἐπιτηδειότατον τοῦτον χῶρον ὑπολαβών, μεγίστην πόλιν καὶ ὁμώνυμον αὑτῷ κατασκευάσας, εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμετέραν ἤγειρε.

[…] "And after these things, Alexander who was no way inferior to Heracles and is thought as good as Dionysus – Alexander, who being truly the son of Zeus, subdued the greatest and most extensive part of the world by his own sole hand – took this to be the most suitable site, and, having planned a great city to bear his name, raised it up to be this city of ours".[186]

The tone of this passage reminds us of Libanius' words concerning Alexander's desire to found a city where Antioch was later built. So does the following passage:

μετὰ ταῦτα κεφάλαιον θήσεις τοιοῦτον περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι τοιγαροῦν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν Εὐρώπην χειρωσάμενος καὶ διαβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤδη, ἐπειδὴ προσέβαλε τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τοῖς τόποις, σύμβολα †μὲν ἐκίνησεν† ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα καταπέμποντος, καὶ κατασκευάζει τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην πόλιν

Following this, you should insert a section on the city, on the following lines: "And thus Alexander, after subduing Europe and crossing to Asia came to the temple and to the site –

[185] Arist. *Or.* 1.297-298; 331. See also Arist. *Or.* 26.26: "He left only one real memorial of his endeavour as a statesman, Alexandria by Egypt which is named after him; he did well in founding this for you, the most illustrious city, for you to have and to control".
[186] Men. Rhet. 388.1-12.

whereupon he observed the signs for establishing the city, for the god revealed them; and he established this blessed town".[187]

In this passage, Alexander arrives at the temple and at the site of the future foundation, sees the divine signs, and establishes the city. In Libanius' account, as we have seen, Alexander arrived at the site, built a temple and founded a citadel wishing it to become a great city. The account from Libanius concerning Alexander echoes the passages from Menander. It shows that, although Seleucus founded Antioch, this was planned and started by Alexander the Great.

Lastly, I will turn to Libanius' praise of the colonial empire created by Seleucus. Again, any hint of this encomium is completely absent from Pausanias' work (although he claims Seleucus as the founder of the Tetrapolis). On the other hand, as we will see, Aristides, in his *Panathenaicus*, praises Athens' colonial empire extensively. Let us see how Libanius presents Seleucus' territorial expansion:

ὃς τοσαύτας ὑπὲρ γῆν ἔστησεν, ὥστ' ἀρκέσαι καὶ πρὸς ὁμωνυμίαν τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ συγγενείᾳ κλήσεων καὶ πολλάς γε μιᾶς προσηγορίας ἐπωνύμους ὁρᾶσθαι [καὶ] καθ' ἑκάτερον γένος, ἀνδρῶν λέγω καὶ γυναικῶν. εἰ γὰρ αὖ κρίνειν τις αὐτὸν ἐθέλοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Μιλησίους, οἳ πλείστας ἀποικίας στεῖλαι δοκοῦσι, πλειόνων τ' ἂν οἰκιστὴς φανείη καὶ τῷ καθ' ἑκάστην μεγέθει τοσοῦτον νικῶν, ὥστε μίαν ἡντινοῦν ἀνταξίαν εἶναι δέκα. ἔξεστι μὲν ἐπιόντι Φοινίκην τὰς ἐκείνου πόλεις ὁρᾶν, ἔξεστι δὲ ἐπιόντι Συρίαν ταυτηνὶ τὰς ἐκείνου καὶ πλείους καὶ μείζους ὁρᾶν. ἐξέτεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ἕως Εὐφράτου καὶ Τίγρητος, περιλαβὼν δὲ Βαβυλῶνα πόλεσι πανταχόθεν ἐγκατέσπειρε καὶ τῇ Περσίδι καὶ ὅλως οὐδένα τόπον ἐπιτήδειον δέξασθαι πόλιν ἀφῆκε γυμνόν, ἀλλ' ἑλληνίζων διετέλεσε τὴν βάρβαρον.

He planted so many [cities] on the earth that they were enough to bear the names of the cities of Macedonia and to be named also for the members of his family; thus there are many which are named for the same person, with both men's and women's names. If one wished to judge him in comparison with the Athenians and the Milesians, who are supposed to have founded the most colonies, he would prove not only to be the founder of still more, but to surpass each one of them in the size of his works to such a degree that any one of his cities was a match for ten of theirs. You may go to Phoenicia and see his cities there, and you may come here to Syria and see even more and greater ones of his. He extended this fair work as far as the Euphrates and the Tigris, and, surrounding Babylon with cities, he planted them everywhere, even in Persia; in

[187] Men. Rhet. 444.1-8.

a word, he left bare no place that was suitable for receiving a city, but he continued his work of hellenising the barbarian land.[188]

Libanius, here, emphasises the extension of Seleucus' dominions, from Phoenicia, to Babylonia and Persia. He also claims that Seleucus hellenised the barbarians.

Similarly, Aristides praises Athens for having cleansed the Aegean from the barbarian enemy and pirates and for having settled the islands near the Peloponnese defending them from the barbarians.[189] In addition, he focuses in particular on Athens' colonization of Asia. Regarding this point, Aristides writes:

προσλαβοῦσα γὰρ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξηγητὴν, ἑαυτῇ δὲ πατρῷον, τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ἐξήγαγε πανταχῆ γῆς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, […] οὕτως ἤδη καὶ μέχρι τῆς ὑπερορίας ᾔει διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ διεβίβαζεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀποικίας, συνάπτουσα τὴν γῆν ὡς μίαν οὖσαν τῇ φύσει, καὶ τὰ πέραν τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ κεχωρισμένα, ἕως κατεσκεύασε τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀντίπρῳρον, εἰ οἷόν τ᾽ εἰπεῖν, Ἑλλάδι τῇ παλαιᾷ μεγάλῃ μὲν αὔξουσα μοίρᾳ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς Ἕλλησι, […] κάλλιστον δὲ κόσμον ἀμφοτέρῳ τῷ γένει περιθεῖσα […] ταύτης δὲ τοιαύτης ὥσπερ κρηπῖδος ἢ ῥίζης ὑποκειμένης ἐξεφοίτησαν καὶ διὰ πάσης ἤδη γῆς αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποικίαι. τοῖς γὰρ πεμφθεῖσι καὶ κρατήσασιν ἔρως ἐμπίπτει μιμήσασθαι τὴν μητρόπολιν. καὶ διαλαβόντες ᾤκιζον τὴν γῆν […] ὥστ᾽ ἐμοὶ μὲν γέλως ἐπέρχεται ἀκούοντι τῶν νῦν πόλεων τοῖς σφετέροις κόσμοις φιλοτιμουμένων καὶ φρονουσῶν ὡς ἐπὶ λαμπροῖς, ὅταν εὑρίσκω θεωρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως γῆν καὶ θάλατταν κεκοσμημένην ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων.

For in company with the common interpreter of the Greeks, and its own ancestor, Pythian Apollo, it led forth the Greek people all over the world […] now it crossed the sea up to the regions abroad, and carried to Asia many great colonies, joining the earth as if it were naturally one and as if the regions beyond Greece were not distinct, until it brought Asia, if the expression can be used, face to face with old Greece, increasing the Greeks' existing strength by a great degree […] and it gave the fairest adornment to each race […] But once it came into existence as it were such a foundation or root, the colonies of the Greeks went forth through every land. For those who had been sent out and won their land desired to imitate their mother city. And they divided up and settled the earth […] Therefore I smile when I hear that the cities of today are proud and haughty over their adornments as if they were glorious, when in my

[188] Lib. *Or.* 11.101-103.
[189] Arist. *Or.* 1.179-182.

observation, aside from many other and much greater achievements, I discover that earth and sea have been adorned by your city.[190]

The tone of the passage seems to recall Libanius' words. Athens colonised Asia widely while hellenising the land at the same time. It is interesting to note that Aristide alludes, with criticism, to the claims of superiority in achievements made by the great cities of his days. Antioch is very likely included among them[191]. Libanius, on the other hand, while describing Seleucus' vast project of colonisation, hints at the colonial activity of Athens and Miletus, saying that Seleucus' colonial empire surpassed them both. There is no reference on how to praise empires or colonial expeditions in Menander.

The oration of Aristides, which was delivered (as was the *Antiochicus*) at the Olympic games, was still considered to be among the best civic encomia during Libanius' times; the Athens presented in the *Panathenaicus* was praised for its illustrious and symbolic origins as we have seen in Menander. Libanius, as I have attempted to demonstrate, received and rearranged the origins of Antioch and its Seleucid identity and presented them in his oration echoing those of Aristides' Athens. In this way, he could vie with Aristides of whom Libanius was a keen admirer and Menander Rhetor who emphasises Aristides and his work in his treatise of epideictic oratory. Libanius' aim was to claim and present the past of Antioch as symbolic and as great as that of Athens. In the next section I will discuss the origin myth of Antioch as received by Malalas in the sixth century AD. Surprisingly, Libanius is not explicitly mentioned by Malalas among his sources. The Byzantine author, as we shall see, presented the origins of Antioch and its founders in competition with yet another illustrious city, namely Constantinople.

2.4 Malalas' reception of the Antiochene origin myth

John Malalas is a Byzantine author highly debated among scholars. Recent studies present him as a complete fraud. Treadgold has recently speculated that Malalas, a mediocre scholar and bureaucrat, would have produced his universal history by copying the universal history of Eusthatius of Antioch. He was a contemporary of Malalas, and died suddenly in the Antiochene earthquake of AD 526. Treadgold believes it to be possible that Malalas re-wrote and completed Eusthatius' work with a clumsy style and plenty of errors and inaccuracies in order to obtain an advancement of career.[192] However, previous scholarship which still

[190] Arist. *Or.* 1.181-183.
[191] Oliver (1968), 110.
[192] Treadgold (2007a), 251-252; Treadold (2007b), 709-745; Asirvatham in *BNJ* 854 F10.

represents the mainstream of studies concerning Malalas, argues that his work is not a fraud but rather an extremely valuable piece of Byzantine literature. Malalas shared some features with his contemporaries; however, he offered his independent view on matters and engaged with facts and events of his own time. Omissions or emphases in his work have therefore to be read in this light.[193]

Although it cannot be denied that Malalas is not the typical Greek author of the classical tradition and that his work certainly features some absurd stories, frequent imprecisions and mistakes, I agree with the leading scholarship on the author. In this section, I argue that a look at Malalas' presentation of the origins of Antioch shows that he wrote with a clear agenda in mind and that he was not merely copying material and incorporating it in his work uncritically. I contend, in fact, that Malalas' purpose was to engage with Hesychius of Miletus, a Byzantine writer and contemporary of Malalas. In order to demonstrate this, I will first focus on the works of Hesychius and Malalas. They both wrote a universal history. It has been noted that there are some similarities as well as differences between the two works.[194] I will show that this might be due to the fact that Malalas composed his (Christian) universal chronicle focused on Antioch to engage with Hesychius' (pagan) universal chronicle centred on Rome and Constantinople. Then I will focus on the origin myth of Antioch and demonstrate that Malalas was engaging with the Greek origins of Constantinople as presented by Hesychius in his work and emphasising the ancient origins of Antioch over those of the Byzantine city.

2.4.1 Malalas and Hesychius

I will now turn to discuss the structure and content of Malalas' and Hesychius' works as this will help us to understand better the possible interaction between the two authors. Hesychius was the author of a universal history possibly entitled *Roman and General History*.[195] Unfortunately, only six fragments of this history have survived.[196] His work, however, was known and read by Photius who provides us with interesting information about the structure and content of it. I will quote the text from Photius, as this is particularly complete and detailed:

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[193] Scott (1985), 99-109; (1990a), 67-85; (1990b), 147-164; see also Jeffrey (1990), 121-146; (2003); Agusta-Boularot et al. (2004-2006); Meier et al. (2016).
[194] Scott (1990a), 67-85; Croke (1990b), 33-36; Kaldellis (2005), 392.
[195] Kaldellis (2005), 382.
[196] For translation and commentary of the fragments see Kaldellis in *BNJ* 390.

ἀνεγνώσθη μοι βιβλίον ἱστορικὸν ὡς ἐν συνόψει κοσμικῆς ἱστορίας. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς Ἡσύχιος ὁ Ἰλλούστριος, Μιλήσιος μὲν ἐκ πατρίδος, παῖς δὲ Ἡσυχίου καὶ Φιλοσοφίας, καθ᾽ ὃ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ βιβλίου μετὰ τοῦ ἱστορίας Ῥωμαϊκῆς τε καὶ παντοδαπῆς τυγχάνει. ἄρχεται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως βασιλείας, κάτεισι δὲ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀναστασίου, ὃς Ῥωμαίων γέγονεν αὐτοκράτωρ. […] διαιρεῖται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σπούδασμα εἰς τμήματα ἕξ, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τμῆμα περιέχει τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως ἕως τῆς κτίσεως Ῥώμης, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως Ῥώμης μέχρις ὅτου Ῥωμαίοις ἡ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰσήχθη ἡγεμονία καταλύσασι τοὺς βασιλέας κατὰ τὴν ὀγδόην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον, ἐξ οὗπερ Ῥωμαίων ἡγήσαντο ὕπατοι, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑξηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, μέχρι δευτέρας καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, οὗ καὶ ἔληξεν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ Ἰουλίου τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχήσαντος. τὸ δὲ πέμπτον τμῆμα περιέχει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίου τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίας μέχρις ὅτου Βυζάντιον ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης ἰσχύος ἤρθη, ὀλυμπιάδος ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ διακοσιοστῆς ἱσταμένης. τὸ δὲ ἕκτον, ἐξ οὗ βασιλέα Κωνσταντινούπολις εὐτύχησε Κωνσταντῖνον μέχρι τῆς Ἀναστασίου τελευτῆς […]

I read a book of history which contains a summary history of the world. The author is Hesychius the Illoustrios, whose homeland was Miletus and whose parents were Hesychius and Philosophia, as the title of the book makes clear, along with the fact that it contains a history both Roman and universal. It begins with the reign of Belus, king of the Assyrians, and goes down to the death of Anastasius, who was emperor of the Romans. […] His work is divided into six sections, of which the first section comprises an account of events before the Trojan War; the second, from the fall of Troy to the founding of Rome; the third, from the founding of Rome to the point when the Romans expelled the kings and introduced the rule of the consuls in the sixty-eighth Olympiad; the fourth, from the moment when the consuls led the Romans, namely from the sixty-eighth Olympiad, down to the one-hundred and eighty-second Olympiad, when this type of regime came to an end with the monarchy of Julius Caesar. The fifth section comprises events from the monarchy of Julius Caesar down to the point when Byzantium reached the pinnacle of its reputation for power, namely at the beginning of the two-hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad; the sixth, from the time when Constantinople had the good fortune to be ruled by Constantine down to the death of Anastasius, whom this author praises […].[197]

According to Photius, from a chronological point of view, the universal history of Hesychius began with the kingdom of the Assyrian Belus and ended with the reign of Anastasius. The

[197] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 69. (Transl. by Kaldellis).

Suda also confirms the information concerning Hesychius' universal history that we read in this passage.[198] It is also possible that Hesychius' history continued until the reign of Justinian. In the same passage dedicated to the works of Hesychius, Photius adds:

> ἀνεγνώσθη δέ μοι καὶ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ βίβλος ἐν ᾗ περιείχετο τά τε Ἰουστίνῳ πραχθέντα, ὅπως τε Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος αὐτὸς ἀνερρήθη. εἶτα καὶ τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Ἰουστίνον ἔστιν ἀνάρρησιν κατιδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις μέχρις ἐτῶν τινῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐπεσχέθη, θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωάννου τὴν ψυχὴν καιρίαν βληθεὶς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ὁρμῆς ἐκκοπείς.
>
> I also read another of his books, which recounted the events of the reign of Justin and how he was elevated to the throne when Anastasius died. Then one can observe how Justinian came to the throne after Justin and about the other events of his reign, up to a certain year. The author did not finish the rest of this work, as he was grievously wounded in his soul by the death of his son Ioannes and lost all interest in writing.[199]

According to Photius' words, it seems that the book that he read concerning Justin and Justinian was not part of Hesychius' universal history. However, it has been argued that this 'other book' may be a later addition due to a second edition of the universal history.[200] This would not be unusual since, as we shall see later, Malalas did the same with the last book (book 18) of his universal chronicle.

As regards to the contents of the work, these were organised into six sections or spans. As the passage above tells us, the first one covers the reign of Belus and the War of Troy; subjects of the second goes from the fall of Troy to the founding of Rome; the third narrated the period of the kings of Rome up to the institution of the Roman Republic; the fourth focused on the Roman republic down to the arrival of Julius Caesar; his dictatorship is covered in the fifth section of Hesychius' work which ends with the foundation of Constantinople; the sixth and last section, then, covers the period from Constantine to the death of Anastasius. From this sketch, it seems evident that Hesychius' work mainly focuses on Rome and Byzantium/Constantinople.[201] Photius and the Suda do stress this and highlight that this work is a "history both Roman and universal", which "contains the deeds of the Roman emperors in sequence, and the history of Byzantium". This shift of focus from Rome to Byzantium/Constantinople is clear in span five. The other element that emerges from the

[198] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F2 = Suda H 611 s.v. Hesychios of Miletus.
[199] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F10 = Phot. *Bibl.* 69.
[200] Kaldellis (2005), 383.
[201] See also Kaldellis (2005), 392.

summary made by Photius is that there seems to be no reference to Christianity in any form. That Hesychius might have not been interested in engaging with Christian elements in his works seems to be further supported by a comment from the *Suda* on Hesychius' second main work, the *Onomatologus* or *Table of Eminent Writers.*[202] Here it is stated that the author did not mention any eminent Christian writer in his work.

Quite similar but also different from this is the universal chronicle by John Malalas. This work, fortunately, has survived almost intact although in an abridged version. As regards the chronological framework, this goes from the time of Adam to the death of Justinian. Scholars agree that the work presented at least two editions. The first one would end with book 17 and the year 527/28[203]; the second edition, which is the one we read today, would end with book 18 and would cover the years 530-565. [204] This last part is more Constantinople-centred and it was probably composed after he moved permanently to Constantinople.[205] We can already see some similarities with the work from Hesychius, namely the chronological scheme and the possible second edition.

The work is divided into eighteen books. As regard the contents, book 1 begins with the Creation and includes the story of the kingdom of the Assyrians and the first Egyptian kings; books 2-4 narrate the mythical history of Greece with a major focus on Argos and the mythical origins of Antioch; in addition, they include the history of Abraham, the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, and the accession of David to the kingdom of Israel; book 5 mainly focuses on the Trojan war and narrates, among other stories, the arrival of the mythical Orestes in Antioch; book 6 includes the Jews' Babylonian captivity and the kingdom of the Persians and ends with the legends concerning Aeneas and his arrival in Italy; the main subject of book 7 is the foundation of Rome. The period of the kings of Rome is also included as well as a very brief history of the Republic down to the accession of Julius Caesar. The book terminates with the story of the Macedonians before the arrival of Alexander the Great; book 8 is focused on the Seleucid kings and the foundation of Antioch and other Seleucid cities in Syria; book 9 covers the period from Caesar's assassination to the battle of

[202] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 T2 = Suda s.v. Hesychios of Miletus. For a discussion on a possible Christian identity of Hesychius see Scott (1990a), 67-85; Croke (1990b), 33-36; Kaldellis (2005), 392; Treadgold (2007a), 270 n.132.
[203] Scholars are still debating regarding the ending date of the first part of Malalas' work. Croke (1990a), 19 ff. suggested that the first edition ended with the year 532; Treadgold (2007a), 238 and n. 56 on the other hand, stated that this probably ended with the year 527/28 which corresponds to the end of book 17.
[204] These dates are assumed by scholars on the basis of Evagrius' statement (ninth century). He wrote that he read Malalas' work and that this ended with the year 526 when Antioch was struck by a terrible earthquake. For more detail see the discussion in Croke (1990a), 17-25.
[205] Scholars discussed whether the author of the second part of the chronicle was still Malalas or not. For the full discussion see Croke (1990a), 21-22 with bibliography.

Actium with a major focus on the arrival of Caesar and Augustus in Antioch; book 10 mainly discusses chronological issues concerning Christ's incarnation and resurrection; books 11-12 narrate the events from Trajan to the Tetrarchy focussing in particular on the emperors' building programmes in Antioch and the reconstruction of Byzantium by Septimius Severus (book 12); in book 13 prominence is given to the re-founding of Byzantium as Constantinople by Constantine and the book ends with the reign of Theodosius I; books 14 narrates the events of the reigns of Theodosius II and Leo II; books 15, 16, 17, and 18 are dedicated respectively to Zeno, Anastasius, Justin and Justinian. As for the previous books, these last ones recorded the presence of the emperors in Antioch and their activities in the city.

As can be seen from this summary, the general content of Malalas' work is similar to that of Hesychius. Yet, there are substantial differences from Hesychius' universal history. Firstly, secular events in Malalas' work are placed within a Christian chronological framework. Secondly, the focus of the work changes. As we have seen above, both Photius and the Suda inform us that the focus of Hesychius' work is on the history of Rome and Byzantium/Constantinople. Although Malalas in his work does write of Rome and Constantinople, his focus, in all books of his work, is clearly on Antioch. As said above, scholars have already noted the similarities (such as the same chronological period covered) and the differences (such as the different focus, and the insertion of the Christian framework by Malalas) between the two works. I argue that this was not a coincidence and that the two authors might have engaged and vied with each other. Biographical information concerning Hesychius and Malalas shows that not only were they contemporaries[206] but also part of the same cultural environment in Constantinople. Biographical information about Hesychius is mainly provided by entries from Photios' *Bibliotheca* and the Suda as well as from three inscriptions found in Hesychius' native city. According to this evidence, Hesychius was born in Miletus and lived during the reigns of Anastasius and probably Justinian.[207] His father, who was also named Hesychius, was a lawyer[208] and probably held office as a decurion of the city.[209] One inscription informs us that Hesychius, at some point, became a lawyer ("brilliant among the orators of the prefects"), too, and worked, very likely at Constantinople, within the

[206] Croke (1990a), 8; (1990b), 36; Moffat (1990), 96-98.
[207] *Milet I.9 Thermen und Palaestren*, p. 168-171, nos. 341-343; Kaldellis (2005), 383; Treadgold (2007a), 235-245.
[208] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 T2 = Suda s.v. Hesychios of Miletus.
[209] Treadgold (2007a), 270.

office of the praetorian prefecture of the East.[210] He was also a friend of the emperor (Anastasius or Justinian).[211]

It seems that Malalas took a similar path. According to the preface to Malalas' work as transmitted by the Slavonic version of it, Malalas came from Antioch. He lived during the reigns of Anastasius and Justinian.[212] While in Antioch, he served in the office of the *comes Orientis* very likely as a lawyer himself.[213]. According to that which he writes in his work, he seems to have moved to Constantinople at least twice in his life. Treadgold has argued that Malalas was in Constantinople between 512-519/20 on the basis of evidence collected from Malalas' text. He probably worked under the praetorian prefect of the East Marinus.[214] He must have returned to Antioch after 520 (presumably to resume his work as a bureaucrat in the office of the *comes Orientis*) until the 530s and then he seems to have moved permanently to Constantinople when Justinian abolished the office of the *comes Orientis* in around 530.[215]

The evidence suggests that both Hesychius and Malalas were lawyers. In addition, especially in the first period of Malalas' permanence in Constantinople, both authors worked as lawyers under the praetorian prefect of the East. Although it cannot be proved that they knew each other personally, this cannot be completely excluded either. Evidence suggests that John Lydus, another influential Byzantine writer of this period (as we shall see later), might have met Malalas as they were both in Constantinople in 512 and were trying to advance their careers under the prefect Marinus.[216] In addition, it seems that Lydus knew of, and read, Hesychius' universal history.[217] According to this, therefore, it is not unlikely that Malalas might have known Hesychius and read his universal history.[218] In any case, they surely belonged to the same cultural environment that originated around the office of the praetorian prefect of the East in Constantinople. They might have influenced each other in the writing of their universal histories. Hesychius wrote a universal history, apparently pagan, and mainly focused on Rome and Constantinople; Malalas, on the other hand, composed, in response, a Christian universal chronicle, with Antioch as its main focus. That Malalas was engaging with Hesychius might be further confirmed if we look once again at the passage where

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[210] For info on this office see *PLRE*, II, 1250–1252.
[211] *Milet. I.9*, no. 341 = *FGrHist* 390 T3.
[212] Croke (1990a), 2.
[213] Croke (1990a), 11 who says it is not absolutely certain that he was a lawyer; however, this cannot be excluded either; similarly, Treadgold (2007a), 237; Treadgold (2007b), 710.
[214] Treadgold (2007a), 237.
[215] Croke (1990a), 22; Treadgold (2007a), 238 ff.
[216] Treadgold (2007a), 259.
[217] Kaldellis (2005), 383.
[218] See also Scott (1990a), 69.

Photius informs us about Hesychius' work. After Photius discusses the writing style of the author, which he considers pleasant and clear, he comments on Hesychius' adherence to truthfulness and writes that "he (i.e. Hesychius) promises to serve the interests of truth". [219] Very likely Photius read this from Hesychius' preface to his work.

This detail does echo what Malalas writes in his preface:

> Δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μετὰ τὸ ἀκρωτηριάσαι τινὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν κεφαλαίων ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως <καὶ τῶν> χρονογράφων Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου καὶ Παυσανίου καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Θεοφίλου καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Διοδώρου καὶ Δομνίνου καὶ Εὐσταθίου καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν φιλοπόνων χρονογράφων καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἐκθέσαι σοι μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας τὰ συμβάντα ἐν μέρει ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν βασιλέων ἕως τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρόνοις ἐλθό<ν>των εἰς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀκοάς, λέγω δὴ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τῆς βασιλείας Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς βασιλευσάντων. […]
>
> I thought it right, after abbreviating some material from the Hebrew books written by Moses <and from> the chroniclers Africanus, Eusebius son of Pamphilus, Pausanias, Didymus, Theophilus, Clement, Diodorus, Domninus, Eustathius and many other industrious chroniclers and poets and learned historians, to relate you as truthfully as possible a summary account of events that took place in the time of the emperors, up till the events of my own life-time which came to my hearing, I mean indeed from Adam to the reign of Zenus and those who ruled afterwards […].[220]

Here, Malalas informs his readers about structure, contents, and aims of his universal history. He, too, promises to narrate the events as truthfully as possible. This might have been written by Malalas to engage with the presentation of the events by Hesychius in his universal history.

This possible relationship between Malalas and Hesychius and their works can be further detected when looking at Malalas' presentation of the origins of Antioch. It is in this light that I will read the Antiochene myth as we read it in Malalas' work. I argue that Malalas was engaging with the foundation myth of Byzantium/Constantinople as presented by Hesychius and claiming Antioch as the more ancient and illustrious of the two cities.

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[219] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 69: "ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ καὶ ἀληθείας εἶναι φροντιστής".

[220] Malal. *Praef.* 1-14. This formula is certainly also a *topos* which can be found in ancient works of historiography in general; nonetheless, it cannot be excluded that Malalas might have had in mind Hesychius' work when composing this. For rules in ancient historiography see, for example, Marincola (1997); Kraus et. al. (2010).

2.4.2 The origins of Antioch are as ancient as those of Constantinople

Let us turn to Hesychius' narrative of the origins of Byzantium/Constantinople. The fragment from Hesychius containing the foundation myth of the city, as we read it today was transmitted by a tenth-century manuscript entitled *The Patria of Constantinople according to Hesychius of Miletus*,[221] and it was later integrated into the well-known *Patria of Constantinople*.[222] Scholars agree in considering the fragment as part of Hesychius' universal chronicle, and they argue that it very probably belonged to the fifth or the beginning of the sixth section of the work.[223] In terms of content, the fragment can be divided into three parts. The first one narrates the foundation of Byzantium by Byzas and the first development of Byzantium into a city. Hesychius focuses particularly on this section, which is also the longest one, and provides the reader with numerous details. The second part concerns the re-building of Byzantium by Septimius Severus; this is followed by the third and final part, which focuses on the re-foundation of the city by Constantine and on the change of its name to Constantinople. Let us now turn to the first part of Hesychius' story where the foundation of Byzantium is narrated. For the sake of space, I will quote only the parts most relevant to my argument while I will summarise the others.

Hesychius begins his narration by giving the reader a brief summary of the various existent traditions concerning Byzas and the foundation of Byzantium.[224] One tradition has the arrival of a group of Argives who would have settled in the land following the instructions given by the Pythia's oracle; a second one, which is probably the best known, would have the foundation of Byzantium by the Megarian colonists under the command of Byzas; the third tradition, according to Hesychius, presents Byzas as the son of Semestre. While Hesychius mentions briefly all these traditions, he considers a different one to be the most plausible and narrates it at length. I will quote the most relevant details of it:

> οἱ μὲν οὖν διαφόροις ἐχρήσαντο λόγοις, ἡμεῖς δὲ πιθανὴν τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν ἐθέλουσιν παραστῆσαι βουλόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἰνάχου θυγατρὸς Ἰοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν προσφόρως ποιούμεθα. Ἰνάχου γὰρ τοῦ Ἀργείων βασιλέως γέγονε θυγάτηρ Ἰώ· ταύτης τὴν

[221] Preger (1901), 1–18; Kaldellis in *FGrHist/BNJ* F7; (2005), 385.

[222] *The Patria of Constantinople* is a work in four books which collects information concerning the origins of the city, as well as anecdotes on its buildings and statues. It was composed in the late tenth century. For a discussion on this work and the full text see Bergher (2013).

[223] For the attribution of the passage to the universal history of Hesychius see Dagron (1984), 23-29; Kaldellis (2005), 385; Kaldellis in *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7.

[224] As said in the section of this chapter dedicated to Pausanias of Antioch (sect. 2.2.1), Hesychius, for this part of the foundation myth, shares many details with Dionysius of Byzantium's account of the foundation of Byzantium. See also Kaldellis in *FGrHist/BNJ* F7 and Bergher (2013) xii-xiii.

παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττεν ῞Αργος, ὃν πολυόμματον λέγουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐρασθεὶς τῆς κόρης πείθει τὸν ῾Ερμῆν δολοφονῆσαι τὸν ῞Αργον, λυθείσης δ᾽ αὐτῆι τῆς παρθενίας ὑπὸ Διός, εἰς βοῦν μεταβάλλεται. Ἥρα δὲ χολωθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῶι γενομένωι οἶστρον ἐπιπέμπει τῆι δαμάλει, καὶ διὰ πάσης αὐτὴν ἐλαύνει ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Θραικῶν ἀφίκετο χώραν, ὄνομα μὲν τῶι τόπωι καταλέλοιπε Βόσπορον, αὐτὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸ καλούμενον Κέρας ἐπανελθοῦσα, […] παρὰ τὸν Σεμέστρης βωμὸν τὴν λεγομένην Κερόεσσαν ἀπεκύησε κόρην, […] ἡ τοίνυν Κερόεσσα παρὰ τῆι Σεμέστρηι νύμφηι τραφεῖσα […] τῶι τε θαλαττίωι μιγεῖσα Ποσειδῶνι τίκτει τὸν καλούμενον Βύζαντα, […] ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἡλικίας ὁ νέος προέβαινεν καὶ τοῖς Θραικίοις ἐνδιέτριβεν ὄρεσι, […]

Whereas those accounts rely on a variety of sources, we, who intend to offer a plausible narrative to those who wish to become familiar with these matters, will profitably begin with Io, the daughter of Inachus. Io was the daughter of Inachus, king of the Argives. Argos was the guardian of her virginity, and he was known as the many-eyed. But when Zeus fell in love with the girl he persuaded Hermes to murder Argos. When Io's virginity was taken by Zeus, she was transformed into a cow. But Hera now became wrathful on account of what had happened and sent a gadfly to afflict the young cow, driving her forth from every land and sea. When she arrived in the land of the Thracians and had left behind the name of Bosphorus for the place, she turned back to the so-called Ceras […] By the altar of Semestre she gave birth to a daughter, the so-called Ceroessa, […] Ceroessa, then, was nourished by the nymph Semestre […] She had intercourse with Poseidon of the seas and gave birth to the so-called Byzas […] As, then, the young man advanced to the peak of maturity, he dwelled in the mountains of Thrace […].[225]

Hesychius here presents Byzas as linked to Io. According to the passage, Io, the daughter of Inachus, the king of the Argives, after having been seduced by Zeus and transformed into a cow by Hera, escaped and arrived in the land of the Thracians and gave birth to Ceroessa. Here, Ceroessa gave birth to Byzas. At this point, Hesychius' narration focuses on the foundation of Byzantium by Byzas:

ὡς οὖν καὶ Μελίας αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Θραικῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ θηρὸς ἆθλον μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ δόξας ὁ Βύζας ἀπηνέγκατο, τὸν ὑποταγέντα ταῦρον τῆι ἱερουργίαι προσφέρων καὶ τοὺς πατρώιους ἐξιλασκόμενος δαίμονας κατὰ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ποταμῶν σύμμιξιν, ἀετὸς ἀθρόως φανεὶς τὴν καρδίαν ὑφαρπάζει τοῦ θύματος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Βοσπορίας ἀκτῆς <ἀποπτὰς ἔστη> ἀντικρὺ τῆς καλουμένης Χρυσοπόλεως, […] ῾Ο μὲν οὖν Βύζας κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Βοσπορίας ἀλὸς διέγραψεν πόλιν· Ποσειδῶνος

[225] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7 (6-10). (All the translations of Hesychius' text in this chapter are by Kaldellis for *BNJ*).

δὲ καὶ ᾽Απόλλωνος, ὥς φασιν, συνεργούντων, ἀνοικοδομεῖ τὰ τείχη λόγου τε παντὸς κρείττονα μηχανώμενος.

Melias, the king of the Thracians, challenged him (i.e. Byzas) to a fight against the wild beast, Byzas won the glory that came from it and, when he was offering the subdued bull to the sacrifice and appeasing the ancestral divinities at the juncture of the aforementioned rivers, an eagle suddenly appeared, snatched the heart of the victim, and, flying away, landed at the edge of the Bosphorian headland, across from the so-called Chrysopolis. […] So Byzas, then, laid out a city at the edge of the Bosphorian headland. With the assistance, as they say, of Poseidon and Apollo, he built up walls contriving to make them greater than any words can relate.[226]

Interestingly, according to Hesychius, Byzas was guided to the right site for the foundation of the city by an eagle, which appeared from the sky and snatched parts of the sacrificial victim. He then laid out the walls of the city. We shall see how Malalas presents a similar episode concerning the foundation of Antioch. Immediately after that, as Hesychius tells us in the following passage, he built sanctuaries for the gods, statues and altars:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ τείχους στεφάνην καὶ <τὰ> τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ἀπειργάζετο. ῾Ρέας μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς Βασιλικῆς λεγόμενον τόπον νεών τε καὶ ἄγαλμα καθιδρύσατο, ὅπερ καὶ Τυχαῖον τοῖς πολίταις τετίμηται· Ποσειδῶνος δὲ τέμενος πρὸς τῆι θαλάττηι ἀνήγειρεν, ἔνθα νῦν ὁ τοῦ μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ οἶκος διακεκόσμηται· ῾Εκάτης δὲ κατὰ τὸν νῦν τοῦ ῾Ιπποδρομίου τόπον· τῶν δὲ Διοσκούρων, Κάστορός τέ φημι καὶ τοῦ Πολυδεύκους, ἐν τῶι τῆς Σεμέστρης βωμῶι καὶ τῆι τῶν ποταμῶν μίξει, ἐν ὧι καὶ λύσις τῶν παθῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγίνετο. ἐγγὺς δὲ τοῦ καλουμένου Στρατηγίου Αἴαντός τε καὶ ᾽Αχιλλέως βωμοὺς ἀνεθήκατο, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ᾽Αχιλλέως χρηματίζει λουτρόν· ᾽Αμφιάρεω δὲ τοῦ ἥρωος ἐν ταῖς λεγομέναις Συκαῖς ὠικοδόμησεν, αἳ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκ τῶν συκοφόρων δένδρων ἐδέξαντο· ἀνωτέρω δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ναοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ᾽Αφροδίτης προσαγορεύεται τέμενος ᾽Αρτέμιδός τε πρὸς τὸ τῆς Θράικης ὄρος.

After crowning the city with walls, Byzas built the sanctuaries of the gods. He dedicated in the so-called region of Basilice both a temple and a statue for Rhea, which has been honored by the citizens as a Tychaeum. Toward the sea he built a sanctuary for Poseidon, where today the oikos of the martyr Menas has been established; for Hecate, where the hippodrome stands today; for the Dioscuri, I mean Castor and Pollux, by the altar of Semestre and the confluence of the rivers, where people are freed of their pains. Near the so-called Strategion, he dedicated altars to both Ajax and Achilles, where the bath of Achilles operates. He built in honor of the hero

[226] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7 (11-12).

> Amphiaraus in the so-called Sycae district, whose name stems from the fig-bearing trees. Slightly further up from the temple of Poseidon there lays as well the sanctuary named after both Aphrodite and Artemis, looking toward the mountain of Thrace.[227]

With these details, Hesychius concludes the story of the foundation of the city by Byzas. He then goes on to narrate how Byzas waged war against his neighbouring enemies with the aim of protecting the city from the barbarians. Thus, he fought and won against the Thracians (17), and the Schythians. He defeated the latter thanks to the help of his wife, Phidalia. Following this, Hesychius narrates the story concerning the war between Byzas and his brother Strombus, which saw Byzas as the winner.[228] Hesychius terminates the first part of the foundation myth of Byzantium/Constantinople with the story concerning the seven *strategoi* who ruled the city in succession after the death of Byzas. After that, Hesychius turns to Septimius Severus and Constantine. We will come back to these later.

Let us now turn to Malalas and see what he writes about the mythical beginnings of Antioch.[229] The two accounts, as we will see, do appear quite similar. Regarding the legendary characters of Antioch, Malalas, drawing on Pausanias of Antioch, writes that "in the time of Picus Zeus mentioned above there appeared in the regions of the West in the land of the Argives a man of the tribe of Japheth, named Inachus. […] Then Picus Zeus, emperor of the regions of the West, hearing that Inachus had a beautiful virgin daughter, sent for Io, daughter of Inachus, and carried her off. He seduced her, made her pregnant. and had a daughter by her whom he called Libye. […]".[230] Malalas goes on by narrating that Io, upset by what had happened to her, abandoned her daughter and escaped to Egypt. However, Io soon found out that Hermes, the son of Picus Zeus was ruling Egypt; thus, she fled once again and went to Mount Silpius in Syria where she died.[231] The story of Io's seduction and escape, as well as her arrival in a new land, does sound very much similar to that included by Hesychius in his work. We will come back to this point later. The episode concerning Io is followed, in Malalas' work, by the account concerning the arrival of Triptolemus and the other Argives in Syria, sent there by Inachus himself to find the girl. I have already discussed this episode in detail in the previous parts of this chapter.[232] The group, after finding out that

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[227] *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7 (15-16).
[228] Kaldellis in *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7 (commentary on 17) noted that the episodes of the war between Byzas and his brother, as well as the Byzantium's seven *strategoi*, may recall elements from the foundation myth of Rome, respectively the rivalry between the brothers Romulus and Remus and Rome's seven kings.
[229] For Malalas and the past of Antioch see also Saliou (2016), 59-76.
[230] Garstad F9A = Malal. 2.6. The entire passage is also discussed in 2.2.2.
[231] For the full text of this part of Malalas' account see this chapter, sect. 2.2.2.
[232] See esp. sect. 2.2.2.

Io was dead, decided to remain and live there. They founded a city which they named Io thus becoming ancestors to the Antiocheans.

Some years after these events, Seleucus I arrived in Syria and founded Antioch the Great. Malalas narrates the episode in detail, using again Pausanias of Antioch as his main source, and writes that when the Seleucid king arrived in Syria, he went to Antigonia, a city built by Antigonus Poliorcetes. Once there, he made a sacrifice and prayed with the priest Amphion to know whether he had to settle in Antigonia, changing the name of the city, or whether he had to found a new city in a different position. Immediately, an eagle descended from the sky and, picking up the meat from the sacrifice, went away to Mount Silpius.[233] This episode, again, very much recalls the one concerning the foundation of Byzantium. Seleucus, as Byzas, was guided to the right site for the foundation of the new city by an eagle. The story from Malalas then continues by narrating the setting out of the new city, Antioch, by Seleucus. When the king arrived on the spot where the eagle had place the meat, he discussed with his men where to build the city. They looked for a safe position away from the streams that came down from Mount Silpius and found it on the site of the village named Bottia, opposite Iopolis.[234] Then, they marked the foundation of the wall. After that, Malalas (following Pausanias of Antioch) goes on as follows:

> κτίσας εὐθέως καὶ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐκάλεσε Βοττίου Διός, ἀνεγείρας καὶ τὰ τείχη σπουδαίως φοβερὰ διὰ Ξεναίου ἀρχιτέκτονος, στήσας ἀνδριάντος στήλην χαλκῆν τῆς σφαγιασθείσης κόρης τύχην τῆι πόλει ὑπεράνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ […] ἔστησε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄγαλμα λίθινον τῶι ἀετῶι. […] ἐποίησε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄλλο ἄγαλμα κεφαλῆς ἵππου καὶ κασσίδα κεχρυσωμένην πλησίον, ἐπιγράψας ἐν αὐτοῖς ‘ἐφ᾽ οὗ φυγὼν ὁ Σέλευκος τὸν ᾽Αντίγονον [ὁ] διεσώθη, καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν᾽. ἀνήγειρε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ τῶι ᾽Αμφίονι στήλην μαρμαρίνην ἔσω τῆς λεγομένης ‘Ρωμανησίας πόρτας, ὀρνεοθυσίαν ποιοῦντι ἅμα αὐτῶι.
>
> He (i.e. Seleucus) immediately built a temple which he called that of Zeus Bottius, and raised up the walls also to be really tremendous with the help of the architect Xenaeus. He set up a bronze statue of a human figure, the girl who had been sacrificed as the tyche of the city, above the river […] Seleucus set up a stone statue of an eagle just outside the city. […] Seleucus set

[233] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10= Malal. 8.12. The full passage and further discussion can be found in section 2.2.3 of this chapter and in Appendix II.
[234] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12. The full text can be found in section 2.3 of this chapter and in Appendix II.

> up just outside the city on the other side of the river another statue, of a horse's head, and next to it a gilded helmet, inscribing on them, "On this Seleucus fled from Antigonus, and was saved; he returned from there and killed him". Seleucus also set up inside the gate known as Romanesian a marble statue of Amphion, who had made the bird-sacrifice with him.[235]

According to the passage, Seleucus and his entourage, after deciding where to found the city, laid down the walls, then built a temple, and set up various statues. The building of these elements recalls the activity of Byzas during the foundation of his city. Regarding the mention, in the story of the virgin sacrifice by Seleucus, it has been noted that this detail is treated by Malalas neutrally.[236] I agree with this view; Malalas indeed does not seem to intend any criticism towards this act by Seleucus. At the same time, he seems to accept without issue all the pagan elements of the myth including the presence of pagan deities. The acceptance and inclusion of the virgin sacrifice can be explained in light of the general Christian tone that Malalas decided to give to his universal history.

Scholars so far have noted that Hesychius' foundation myth of Byzantium and Malalas' origin account of Antioch present similarities. They focus on the fact that both Hesychius and Malalas were using, for the description of the origins of the two cities, literary sources belonging to the genre of the *patria*. These focus on mythological stories as well as on anecdotes concerning the building of statues and monuments.[237] That the two authors were using some local material for the writing of the past of the two cities is undoubtable. However, my contention is that more is at stake here. I argue that the similarities, as well as the differences, between the two stories have to be read in light of an interaction between Malalas and Hesychius, which we have already seen while discussing their main works. The aim of Malalas was to emphasise the past of Antioch and to claim the antiquity of the city in his work to engage with that of Byzantium/Constantinople, which is claimed, instead, by Hesychius in his work. As we shall see, it may be possible that Hesychius was himself participating into this dialogue concerning the claim of antiquity of the two cities.

In order to show this, I will look at how Malalas presented the foundation of Byzantium/Constantinople in his universal history. Scholars have noted that there are strong similarities and common details between the foundation myth of Byzantium/Constantinople as narrated by Hesychius and that narrated by Malalas and they argue that the two authors

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[235] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12.
[236] Garstad (2005), 86; Asirvatham in *BNJ* 854 F10; Garstad (2011). For a further discussion on this point see sect. 2.3 of this chapter, n.169.
[237] Moffatt (1990), 93-98 n.5; Scott (1990a), 69.

very likely had access to the same source.[238] Malalas does indeed follow, when narrating the foundation of the city, the same scheme that we have seen in Hesychius and he does focus exclusively on Byzas, Septimius Severus and Constantine.[239] However, although the narrative is roughly the same if we look closer at the details which Malalas provides concerning the origins of the city, it is possible to see that the version that Malalas gives of it is different from that of Hesychius.[240] This is shown in the following passage. While Malalas is narrating the re-foundation of Byzantium as Constantinople by Constantine drawing on the same elements of Hesychius, he also narrates the origins of the city and writes:

> ἥτις πόλις ἐκτίσθη ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιδαλίας· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τότε τὴν τύχην αὐτῆς Κερόην. τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν Φιδαλίαν ἠγάγετο Βύζας ὁ τῆς Θρᾴκης βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Βαρβυσίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς, τοῦ τοπάρχου καὶ φύλακος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐμπορίου. ὅστις Βαρβύσιος μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐκέλευσε τὴν Φιδαλίαν ποιῆσαι τεῖχος τῷ τόπῳ ἕως θαλάσσης. ὁ δὲ Βύζας εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα καλέσας τὴν χώραν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει.
>
> This city (i.e. Constantinople) had originally been built by Phidalia, and she at that time had called its Tyche Ceroe. Phidalia had been married to Byzas, the king of Thrace, after the death of her father Barbysius, who was the toparch and the warden of the port. Barbysius on the point of death told Phidalia to make a wall for the place down to the sea. Byzas named the area after himself and ruled in the city.[241]

Although Byzas is recognised by Malalas as the one who gave the name to the city and ruled it, there is no other detail that recall the myth of Byzantium as we have read it in the passage from Hesychius. In fact, Malalas attributes the foundation of Byzantium to Phidalia rather than to Byzas. Io, Byzas' grandmother, and Ceroessa, Byzas' mother, are not mentioned at all.[242] In addition, none of the other accounts concerning the foundation of the city, which

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[238] Moffatt (1990), 97; Treadgold (2007a), 272; (2007b), 725. I would suggest that it might not be impossible that Malalas was reading Hesychius' work directly, given that they were contemporaries and coming from the same environment. They may have both responded to each other. I tentatively suggest that this may have been perhaps in an oral performance before the final version of their works was put on paper.

[239] For example, as regards the re-building of the city by Septimius Severus, Hesychius tells us that the emperor built the bath of Zeus Hippos and the hippodrome (*FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7, 36-38). The same buildings appear also in Malalas' description of Severus' activities in Byzantium (Malal. 12.20). As regards the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine, then, Hesychius informs us that the emperor reconstructed the walls of the city and called the city after himself. He set up a statue of his mother Helena and called the place Augoustaion; erected in the forum his own statue on a porphyry column; built the Senate and set up statutes in it; celebrated the city's birthday on May 11th (*FGrHist/BNJ* 390 F7, 39-42). Again, the very same elements are mentioned by Malalas too (Malal. 13.7-8). For a discussion on this see Moffatt (1990).

[240] There are also some differences in the way Malalas (13.8) narrates the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine.

[241] Malal. 13.7.

[242] In Malalas' account, Phidalia named the Tyche of the city Ceroe. This recalls the name Ceroessa. However, Ceroessa as the mother of Byzas does not appear in Malalas' version of the myth.

were taken into account by Hesychius and presented to his readers, is mentioned or alluded to by Malalas. Therefore, it seems that while Malalas follows the general scheme of Hesychius (and shares with him some details concerning the parts of Septimius and Constantine), he does present very different details for the account concerning the mythical foundation of Byzantium.

Interestingly, Malalas seems to avoid completely the connection between Io and Thrace also in another part of his work. He does focus indeed on the travels of Io after her escape from Zeus. However, the only place mentioned before the arrival of the girl in Syria is Egypt. Here the girl lived for some years before discovering that the son of Zeus, Hermes, was ruling the land. In addition, Malalas points out that Io had a daughter from Zeus, as Hesychius would inform in his account. This, however, is not Ceroessa, but Libye, mother of Belus the founder of the Assyrian kingdom. It may be argued that this is due to the fact that Malalas was using a source that does not include the narration of Io's travels in Thrace. However, in light of what has been said above, it also seems possible that Malalas purposely avoided any mention of this episode, in order to oppose the Thracian Io, grandmother of Byzas and ancestor to the Byzantines, against the Near Eastern and Syrian Io who was ancestor to the Antiochenes.

There is another interesting piece of evidence that would suggest that Malalas and Hesychius were engaging and vying on the antiquity of Antioch and Byzantium/Constantinople. I will return now to the passage from Hesychius where the foundation of Byzantium by Byzas is narrated.[243] The account has Byzas guided by an eagle to the site of the future Byzantium. Hesychius draws the majority of the details concerning the foundation of Byzantium from Dionysius of Byzantium's *Voyage through the Bosphorus*.[244] However, the episode of the eagle is absent from the text of Dionysius. It might be argued that Hesychius used other sources in addition to Dionysius to write of the origins of Byzantium/Constantinople. This might be the case. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the Byzantine chronographer decided to accept and insert in his text this tradition concerning Byzas and the guiding-eagle which matches perfectly the account of the foundation of Antioch by Seleucus I narrated by his contemporary Malalas.[245] The purpose may have been that of vying with Malalas' presentation of Antioch's past.[246] All this evidence, therefore, seems to demonstrate that

[243] *FGrHist*/*BNJ* 390 F7 (6-10).
[244] See sect. 2.2.2 for Dionysius.
[245] In addition, it cannot be completely excluded that he may have manipulated the foundation myth of Byzantium himself inserting the eagle episode.
[246] Hesychius, as said above, was also the author of the *Onomatologus*, which focuses on eminent men in scholarship. Here he mentions eminent writers from the past such as Aristotle as well as his contemporaries such

Malalas and Hesychius were engaging with each other. Although they both wrote a universal history, the focus of their works was certainly not the same. While Hesychius focused more on Constantinople (and Rome), the focus of Malalas was Antioch, his native city. This is reflected also in the presentation of the origins of the two cities. Malalas claimed the antiquity of the Seleucid Antioch over that of Byzantium.

Malalas' choice of focusing on Antioch and emphasising its origins might have also been influenced by the presentation of the city in the works of other contemporary writers. I am referring in particular to John Lydus and Procopius (we do not know whether Hesychius considers Antioch at all in his work). The former mentions Antioch only twice in his (major) works. The city is acknowledged as Seleucus' foundation; however, it is associated with ideas of destruction and death. In his work *On the Months*, Lydus writes:

> καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ τῶν γενησομένων ἕως τῆς συντελείας, ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας παλίμφημά τινα προφητεύει, τῆς μὲν ὡς πολέμῳ πεσουμένης καὶ μηκέτ' ἀναστησομένης, τῆς δὲ νήσου ὑποβρυχίου γενησομένης· φησὶ γάρ· Τλήμων Ἀντιόχεια, σὲ δὲ πτόλιν οὔποτ' ἐροῦσιν, εὖτε κακοφροσύνῃσι τεαῖς περὶ δούρασι πίπτεις
>
> She (Sybilla) also gives a kind of ominous prophecy regarding Cyprus and Antioch: that the one will fall, as in battle, and will no longer rise up again; and the island will become under water. For she says: "Wretched Antioch, they will no longer call you a city, when you fall in among spears for your wicked-mindedness".[247]

The prophecy refers to the capture and destruction of Antioch by the Persian Chosroes I in AD 540. The destruction of Antioch is also highlighted by Lydus in his second major work, *On the Magistracies*. Here, in addition, the author reminds his reader that Antioch was destroyed by an earthquake, before being sacked and burnt by the Persians (AD 526):

> [...] σάλοι σκιρτῶντες καὶ διϊστῶντες τὴν γῆν ῥιζόθεν τὴν Σελεύκου Ἀντιόχειαν κατέαξαν, τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ βουνῷ τὴν πόλιν σκεπάσαντες, ὡς μηδεμίαν διαφορὰν ὄρους καὶ πόλεως ἀπολειφθῆναι τῷ χωρίῳ, νάπην δὲ τὸ πᾶν καὶ σκοπέλους […]

as Procopius, John Lydus, and Petrus the Patrician. Malalas, interestingly, is not mentioned. This, however, might be explained with the fact that Hesychius, according to the Suda, failed on purpose to mention all the Christian authors. For a detailed discussion on this point see *FGrHist/BNJ* 390 T2 with Kaldellis' commentary; Kaldellis (2005); Treadgold (2007a), 276 ff.; (2007b), Cameron (2016), 264-271.

[247] Lyd. *Mens*. p. 178 ans 235 (ed. Bandy, 2013 with transl.).

> […] tremors, springing, and splitting the earth from its roots, crushed Seleucus' Antioch, having buried the city by the mountain situated above it, so that no distinction between mountain and city was left to the site, but the whole thing was glen and rocks […].[248]

The image of Antioch drawn by Lydus was clearly not that of a great and flourishing city. Similarly, Procopius, in his famous work *On Buildings*, refers to the Persian sack of AD 540 and describes the subsequent reconstruction of Antioch by the emperor Justinian:

> Μάλιστα δὲ ἁπασῶν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣ νῦν Θεούπολις ἐπικέκληται, κόσμου τε καὶ ὀχυρώματος ἐνεπλήσατο πολλῷ μείζονος ἢ πρότερον εἶναι ξυνέβαινεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ περίβολος μακρός τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ περιόδων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως, πὴ μὲν τὰ πεδία περιβάλλων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πὴ δὲ τὰς τῶν σκοπέλων ὑπερβολάς [...] Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἀντιοχείας περιβόλῳ τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἴργασται. καὶ ξύμπασαν δὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καταφλεχθεῖσαν ἀνῳκοδομήσατο τὴν πόλιν αὐτός. […] τεχνιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιδημιούργων πλῆθος ἐπαγαγὼν ῥᾷόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι παρέσχετο δείμασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἰδίας οἰκίας. οὕτω τε Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπιφανεστέραν γεγονέναι τανῦν ἢ πρότερον ἦν ξυνηνέχθη.
>
> Above all he made Antioch, which is now called Theopolis, both fairer and stronger by far than it had been formerly. In ancient times its circuit-wall was both too long and absolutely full of many turnings, in some places uselessly enclosing the level ground and in others the summits of the mountain, and for this reason it was exposed to attack in a number of places. […] This, then, was what the Emperor Justinian accomplished concerning the circuit-wall of Antioch. He also rebuilt the whole city, which had been completely burned by the enemy. […] He also, by bringing in a multitude of artisans and craftsmen, made it more easy and less laborious for the inhabitants to build their own houses. Thus it was brought about that Antioch has become more splendid now than it formerly was.[249]

Procopius' account, which is clearly aimed at praising Justinian's actions, emphasises how the city was much more splendid in his own time than it was in the past, Seleucid era included.

As can be seen from these passages, Antioch is perceived, in the time of Malalas, as a city that is facing ruin and destruction. On the other hand, Constantinople in the sixth century was in the spotlight thanks to Justinian's rule and it was the focus not only of Hesychius s and his

[248] Lyd. *Mag*. p. 216 (ed. Bandy, 1983 with transl.).
[249] Procop. *Aed*. 2.10.2-24. (Transl. by Dewing 1940).

universal history but also of other writers of the time.[250] All this might have further prompted Malalas to emphasise the role of Antioch within his universal history and claim the city's illustrious and ancient Greek origins.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how the Greek and Seleucid identity of Antioch was reshaped and negotiated within the city from the second century to the sixth century AD. I have shown how Pausanias of Antioch, in the age of the Antonines, used the city's origin stories of beginnings and foundation to engage with Greek cities of the Roman East and their claims of prestigious pedigrees. By emphasising mythical elements such as Io, Triptolemus, and Perseus, Pausanias, I have argued, was claiming prestigious founders for Antioch. While the Greek cities founded in the Hellenistic period seem to have re-created their historical origins and claimed Alexander the Great as their founder, Pausanias, it has emerged, seems to have instead emphasised the foundation of the city by its Seleucid founder, Seleucus I.

In the second part of the chapter, I have shown how Libanius emphasised, on the other hand, Alexander the Great as the founder of Antioch. His aim was to place the Seleucid city within a wider Greco-Roman cultural context and to vie with the memories of classical Athens. The latter, as we have seen, was praised by Aelius Aristides and Menander Rhetor, in the second and third centuries AD, as the greatest of the Greek cities. In order to claim a similar status for Antioch, it has also been shown that Libanius reinterpreted the mythical past of the city and readapted it in order for it to be similar to that of Athens, but at the same time far more prestigious.

The Argive origins of Antioch as well as its Seleucid identity were reinterpreted and re-negotiated again by Malalas in Byzantine times. In the last part of the chapter, I have discussed how the Byzantine historian engaged with Hesychius of Miletus, his contemporary. While the latter recalled in his work the foundation myth of Byzantium in order to claim the Greek origins of sixth-century Constantinople, Malalas, I have shown, emphasised the origin stories of Antioch with the aim of accentuating the antiquity and Greek identity of his own city.

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[250] Procopius, for example, represents the main evidence of this. In his work *De Aedificiis* (*On the Buildings*), he expands at length, especially in book 1, on the description of the main buildings of Constantinople and praises the splendour and magnificence of the city. Downey (1974), 171-183; Whitby (2000), 45–57.

3. Transmission and reception of Apamea's myth of beginnings in Ps. Oppian's *Cynegetica*

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have shown how Pausanias of Antioch and Libanius engaged with the civic origin myth of Antioch in order to claim the Seleucid identity of the city within a Greco-Roman cultural context. Pausanias emphasised the Seleucid past of the city and its Seleucid founder to respond to other cities of Asia Minor and to their claim of being foundations of Alexander the Great; Libanius, on the other hand, defended the illustrious pedigree of the city engaging with Aelius Aristides and his presentation of Athens as the most admirable Greek city of all. Alexander the Great was emphasised by Libanius as the founder of Antioch rather than Seleucus. I will now explore another case in the Roman period where memories of the origins of a Seleucid city and memories of Alexander the Great are intertwined.

In this chapter I will look at another city of the Seleucid Tetrapolis in Syria, namely Apamea. I will focus on Ps. Oppian, a native of Apamea, who lived under Caracalla, and on his reception of the city's origin myth. The story concerning the mythical beginnings of Apamea is contained in the second book of the *Cynegetica*, Ps. Oppian's main work. The work is a didactic poem in hexameter which mainly focuses on the hunt. The story concerning the civic origins of Apamea is interesting yet quite problematic as the nature of the account is difficult to define. Let me briefly set out the problem. The main characters of the story are the river Orontes, the lake nymph Meliboea, and Heracles. The narrative revolves around the unrequited love of Orontes for Meliboea. In order to pursue the nymph, the river lingers on a plain surrounding the city of Pella (another name for Apamea, as we shall see)[251] and flooding it. Heracles, called by Archippus, the chief of Pella, then arrives on the plain and cuts a canal, thus forcing the Orontes to flow into the sea freeing the plain from the river's waters.

The story has been much debated among scholars. The main points discussed revolve around when the story was invented; whether it was already circulating in the Hellenistic period; and also, whether it was produced within the Seleucid court. The two leading positions in the

[251] Apamea was founded by Seleucus at around 301 BC, after he defeated Antigonus Monophthalmus in the battle of Ipsus and conquered Antogonus' possessions in Syria. Apamea was built, as we shall see in more detail later, on the site of Pella which was probably founded by the Macedonians who had followed Alexander or Antigonus. Balty (2003), 211-222; Cohen (2006), 94-96.

debate are as follows. Hollis, followed by Bernard, argued that the story as we read it in Ps. Oppian, might have been composed in the Hellenistic period and that it was later transmitted and adapted by Ps. Oppian in his poem.[252] The story, Hollis postulates, was an invention by Euphorion of Chalcis, a poet who worked at the court of the Seleucid king Antiochus III (241-187 BC). [253] Therefore, for Hollis, the original story would have been a poem invented in the Hellenistic period within the Seleucid court. Euphorion would have meant it as an aetiology to explain the origins of the plain of Apamea, and its name, plain of Heracles. Kosmin has put forward the second interpretation of this story.[254] He argues, as does Hollis, that the story was produced in the Hellenistic period, possibly under the Seleucids. Differing from Hollis however, he has suggested that the poem was not a product of the Seleucid court; in fact, it was "entirely produced in independence of the Seleucid court".[255] He also believes that the story was meant to mythically encode the creation of canals, possibly by the Seleucid kings, in the area of Apamea.

As this outline has shown the nature of the story is still very much discussed and it remains unresolved whether it was created in the Hellenistic period and also whether it was produced at the Seleucid court or independently from it. Therefore, before turning to investigate the story as received by Ps. Oppian, I would like to discuss this issue further and put forward new thoughts on this. Although I agree with Hollis and Kosmin in considering the account as having originated in the Hellenistic period, I would like to disentangle new elements from it and give them a new interpretation. I contend that not only was the story transmitted by Ps. Oppian a product of the Seleucid court, as Hollis argues, but that it also represented a section of a wider civic origin myth concerning Seleucid Apamea. In other words, I posit that the story of Orontes, Meliboea, and Heracles was meant to describe the mythical times and beginnings of the Seleucid city in a similar way to the stories of Triptolemus and Perseus in the Antiochene origin myth. In addition, I would tentatively suggest that the account, rather

[252] Hollis (1994), 153-166; Bernard (1995), 353-382.
[253] Although Hollis has convincingly demonstrated that this myth can be considered in light of the literary production of the Hellenistic period, I would suggest to consider with caution the scholar's attribution of the poem to Euphorion of Chalcis. Solid evidence of this is, unfortunately, scanty and modern scholarship on Euphorion does not seem to include the poem among Euphorion's fragments. See, for example, the editions of Euphorion by Acosta-Hughes (2012); Lightfoot (2009). On the other hand, Euphorion seems to have composed a poem on Inachus, one of the main characters in the foundation myth of Antioch; so, it is not impossible that he may have also elaborated the poem transmitted by Ps. Oppian. Only a few fragments of Euphorion's *Inachus* have survived, see F35 Lightfoot = Clem. *Al. Protr*. 11.8 p. 300.12 Stählin and F109 (fr.1) Lightfoot = *P. Oxy*. 2085, frr. 1, 3.
[254] Kosmin (2014), 196-197; 232-233.
[255] He has suggested that the story was produced in order to challenge the Seleucid authority. Kosmin (2014), 232-233.

than being invented at the time of Antiochus III, as Hollis has suggested, was already circulating under Seleucus I. In order to demonstrate this, in the first part of the chapter, I will focus on the image of Heracles and on the role which he played in the myth. While Hollis and Bernard have concentrated in detail on the characters of Orontes and Meliboea, I will compare the image of Heracles in the story from Ps. Oppian with passages about the mythical past of Antioch and show that Heracles also appears in the pre-foundation stories of Seleucid Antioch. This evidence would support the idea that the story of Orontes, Meliboea, and Heracles might have been part of a wider and complex origin myth, too. I will then compare the story from Ps. Oppian with Apollonius Rhodius' *ktisis*-material. Finally, I will discuss the chronology of the myth. Although neither Seleucus I nor any of his successors are explicitly mentioned in our poem, I will suggest, on the basis of numismatic evidence, that the story may have been created within the Seleucid court possibly already in the time of Seleucus I.

Once I have thrown a new light on the nature of the story of Orontes, Meliboea, and Heracles, I will turn to Ps. Oppian and focus on his reception of Apamea's civic past. In the second part of the chapter, I argue that Ps. Oppian transmitted the myth in his *Cynegetica* in order to respond to Caracalla's interest toward Heracles and possibly also to his Alexander-mania. In order to demonstrate this, I will, firstly, focus on Caracalla and discuss his reception of Hellenistic themes, such as Heracles. Then, I will show how Greek cities of the Roman East interacted with the emperor and emphasised the images of Alexander and Heracles within their civic contexts. Finally, I will read Ps. Oppian's text in light of this cultural phenomenon and argue that the author was presenting the origins and past of Apamea as linked with Heracles and Pella, in order to engage within this cultural discourse.

3.2 Transmitting a Seleucid myth of beginnings

Let us now turn to the myth as transmitted by Ps. Oppian. For the sake of clarity, I will quote the relevant text in full. This story is the only excursus, which is dedicated by Ps. Oppian to Apamea.

100 οἱ Σύριοι ταῦροι δέ, Χεροννήσοιο γένεθλα,
αἰπεινὴν τοὶ Πέλλαν ἐΰκτιτον ἀμφινέμονται,
[…]
κεῖνοι, τοὺς φάτις ἔσκε Διὸς γόνον Ἡρακλῆα
110 καρτερόν ἀθλεύοντ᾽ ἀγέμεν πάρος ἐξ Ἐρυθείης,
ὁππότ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ὠκεανῷ δηρίσατο Γηρυονῆϊ

καὶ κτάνεν ἐν σκοπιῇσιν: ἐπεὶ πόνον ἄλλον ἔμελλεν
οὐχ Ἥρῃ τελέειν οὐδ᾽ Εὐρυσθῆος ἐνιπαῖς,
Ἀρχίππῳ δ᾽ ἑτάρῳ, Πέλλης ἡγήτορι δίης.
ἦ γάρ τοι προπάροιθε παραὶ πόδας Ἐμβλωνοῖο
πᾶν πεδίον πελάγιζεν: ἐπεὶ πολὺς αἰὲν Ὀρόντης
ἵετ᾽ ἐπειγόμενος, χαροποῦ δ᾽ ἐπελήθετο πόντου,
δαιόμενος Νύμφης κυανώπιδος Ὠκεανίνης:
δήθυνεν δὲ πάγοισι, κάλυπτε δ᾽ ἐρίσπορον αἶαν
οὔτι θέλων προλιπεῖν δυσέρωτα πόθον Μελιβοίης.
οὔρεσί τ᾽ ἀμφότερωθε περίδρομος ἐστεφάνωτο
τειναμένοις ἑκάτερθεν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι κάρηνα:
ἤϊεν ἀντολίηθε Διόκλειον δέμας αἰπύ,
ἐκ δ᾽ ἄρα δυσμάων λαιὸν κέρας Ἐμβλωνοῖο,
αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν μεσάτοισιν ἐπαιγίζων πεδίοισιν,
αἰὲν ἀεξόμενος καὶ τείχεος ἐγγὺς ὁδεύων,
χέρσον ὁμοῦ καὶ νῆσον, ἐμὴν πόλιν, ὕδασι χεύων.
τοὔνεκεν αὐτίκ᾽ ἔμελλε Διὸς γόνος ἀμφοτέροισι
νάματα μετρήσειν ῥοπάλῳ καὶ χερσὶ κραταιαῖς,
ὕδατα δ᾽ ἐκ πεδίοιο διακριδὸν ἰθύνεσθαι
εὐπλοκάμου λίμνης ἠδ᾽ εὐτροχάλου ποταμοῖο.
ἔρξε δὲ πουλὺν ἄεθλον, ἐπεὶ στεφάνην διέκερσεν
ἀμφιβόλων ὀρέων, λῦσεν δ᾽ ἄπο λάϊνα δεσμά,
καὶ ποταμὸν προέηκεν ἐρευγόμενον προμολῆσιν,
ἄσχετα κυμαίνοντα καὶ ἄγρια μορμύροντα,
ἴθυνεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ θῖνας: ὁ δ᾽ ἔβραχεν ἠπύτα πόντος
καὶ Συρίου κονάβησε μέλαν δέμας αἰγιαλοῖο.
[…]
ὣς ποταμὸς κελάρυζε μέγας περὶ θῖνας Ὀρόντης
σμερδαλέον μύκημα: πελώρια δ᾽ ἴαχον ἀκταὶ
δεχνύμεναι κόλποισι νεήλυδος οἶδμα θαλάσσης:
γαῖα δ᾽ ἀνέπνευσεν μελανόχροος, οὐθατόεσσα,
κύματος ἐξαναδῦσα, νέον πέδον Ἡρακλῆος.

The Syrian Bulls, the breed of the Chersonese, pasture about high well-built Pella […] These are they which report said Heracles, the mighty son of Zeus, when fulfilling his labours, once

> drove from Erythea, when he fought with Geryon beside the Ocean and slew him among the rocks; since he was destined to fulfil yet another labour, not for Hera nor for an order by Eurystheus, but for his companion Archippus, chief of holy Pella. At once all the plain by the foot of Emblonus was flooded; since in great volume eagerly rushed Orontes, forgetting the blue sea and burning with love for the dark-eyed nymph, the daughter of Ocean. He lingered among the mountains and covered the fertile earth, unwilling to give up his hopeless love of Meliboea. On either side he was surrounded by mountains, which on either part leaned their heads together. From the East came the high Diocleum, and from the West the left horn of Emblonus, and in the the middle of the plain was Orontes, raging, ever waxing and moving near the walls, flooding with his waters that peninsula at once and island, mine own city. Therefore the son of Zeus was destined with club and mighty hands to distribute the waters, and to separate from the plain the waters of the fair-tressed lake and those of the fair-flowing river. And he wrought his mighty labour, when he cut the belt of the encircling hills and undid their stony chains, and sent the river gushing out, swirling incontinent and wildly murmuring, and guided it toward the shores. And loudly roared the deep sea and the black body of the Syrian shore echoed the clangour. […] So the great river Orontes made a noise of fear reaching the shores; and mightily roared the headlands when they received within their bosom the wave of the new-come sea; and the black and fertile earth breathed again, arisen from the waves, a new plain of Heracles. [256]

The story narrates the unhappy love of the river Orontes for Meliboea, a lake-nymph. For this, the river lingers on the plain threatening to flood the city, Pella, which is itself located on the plain. In order to face this situation, Archippus, the ruler of Pella asks his friend Heracles for help. The latter, while travelling with the cattle of Geryon in fulfilment of his tenth labour, stops by Pella, cuts a canal, and send the Orontes rushing to the sea, thus separating the river from the lake. As a result, the plain and Pella were freed from the waters.

The first element of the story I would like to discuss is the name of the city in the account, namely Pella. Scholars assume that the Pella in the account corresponds with Apamea founded by Seleucus I. Although I tend to agree with them, I argue that this association is not as straightforward as it seems; in fact, it presents some issues which should be discussed further to make this association clearer. I will, therefore, first turn to Strabo to see how he treats the names Pella and Apamea in his work.

[256] [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.100-149 (The translations of Ps. Oppian's text in this chapter are adapted from Mair 1928).

Strabo informs us that the city of Pella pre-dated Seleucid Apamea. He states that Pella was named (and implicitly founded) by the first Macedonians, before the arrival of Seleucus in the area:

> ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Πέλλα ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων Μακεδόνων διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι τῶν στρατευομένων, τὴν δὲ Πέλλαν ὥσπερ μητρόπολιν γεγονέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρίδα.
>
> It (i.e. Apamea) was also called Pella at one time, by the first Macedonians, because the majority of the Macedonians who made the expedition took up their abode there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become, as it were, the metropolis of the Macedonians.[257]

According to Strabo, the first Macedonians settled in Syria, founded Pella and named it after the homonymous city in Macedonia which was the motherland of Philip and Alexander. Scholars have identified these Macedonians with either the followers of Alexander the Great or of Antigonus Monophtalmus; the latter conquered and colonised the area immediately before the arrival of Seleucus.[258]

According to this evidence, it could be argued that the story concerning Orontes, Meliboea and Heracles which we read in Ps. Oppian's text was not connected with Seleucid Apamea at all, as scholars have implied. Rather, it was linked to pre-Seleucid Pella, as the name presented in the text above would suggest. If so, the story may have been elaborated by the first Macedonians (of Alexander or Antigonus), perhaps to mythically encode the appropriation of a new landscape, and later transmitted and re-elaborated by Ps. Oppian. In other words, if the story in Ps. Oppian is believed to be the product of the Macedonian settlers and, therefore, of the pre-Seleucid period, it could be argued that this is not referring to Seleucid Apamea at all.[259]

Although this interpretation is interesting and warns us to consider ancient texts with caution, I would agree with the scholarly mainstream and argue that Pella in our story does refer to Seleucid Apamea. Strabo himself provides the first evidence of this. Although he informs us about Pella in the passage above, he also implies, in the same passage, that the same Pella

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[257] Str. 16.2.10. (All the translations of Strabo's text are from Jones 1917-1932, unless otherwise specified).
[258] Cohen (2006), 94 with bibliography.
[259] I would like to thank Johannes Haubold who suggested to me (and challenged me on) this possible interpretation of Ps. Oppian's text.

later became Apamea; he also states, earlier on, that the city was founded by Seleucus I and named after Apama, his wife:

> Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ καὶ Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐν Πιερίᾳ καὶ Ἀπάμεια δὲ καὶ Λαοδίκεια, […], Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος κτίσματα […] ἡ μὲν Ἀπάμεια τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀπάμας
>
> Antioch near Daphnê, Seleuceia in Pieria, and also Apamea and Laodicea; […] all founded by Seleucus Nicator, […] Apamea (was called) after his wife Apama.[260]

This passage allows us to argue that Pella was the same city that was later re-founded by Seleucus and called Apamea.

A passage from Diodorus Siculus seems to throw more light on the issue. The historian, while narrating the main events concerning the war between Seleucus I and Demetrius Poliorcetes (Antigonus Monophthalmus' son), states that Seleucus held Demetrius captive in Pella:

> Ὅτι τοῦ Δημητρίου φυλαττομένου εἰς Πέλλαν Λυσίμαχος πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας ἠξίου τὸν Σέλευκον μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφεῖναι […].
>
> While Demetrius was held under guard in Pella, Lysimachus sent ambassadors to Seleucus with the request that he should on no account release Demetrius from his power […].[261]

The events described by Diodorus are dated to 285 BC[262], namely around twenty years after the foundation of Seleucid Apamea. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the name Pella in Ps. Oppian's text might refer to Seleucid Apamea. According to this passage, Seleucid Apamea continued to be called Pella. Therefore, it seems possible to argue that the name Pella in Ps. Oppian's text might refer to Seleucid Apamea.

There is another piece of evidence, which would confirm this association. A quite confused passage from Pausanias of Antioch informs us that Seleucus would have renamed Apamea as Pella:

> Ἔκτισε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μεγάλην εἰς ὄνομα τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀπάμας, εὑρηκὼς κώμην πρώην λεγομένην Φαρνάκην· καὶ τειχίσας αὐτὴν ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ἐπωνόμασε πόλιν, καλέσας αὐτὴν Ἀπάμειαν, θυσίαν ποιήσας· ἣν

[260] Str. 16.2.4.
[261] Diod. 21.20. (Transl. by Geer 1947).
[262] Cohen (2006), 95.

αὐτὸς μετεκάλεσεν ὀνόματι Πέλλαν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν τὴν τύχην τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀπαμείας πόλεως τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο· ἦν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ἀπὸ Πέλλης τῆς πόλεως Μακεδονίας. ἐποίησε δὲ θυσίαν ταῦρον καὶ τράγον· καὶ ἐλθὼν πάλιν ὁ ἀετὸς ἐπῆρεν τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ ταύρου καὶ τοῦ τράγου·

Seleucus Nicator built another great city in Syria, named after his daughter Apama, after finding a village formerly known as Pharnace. Seleucus fortified it and named it a city, calling it Apamea, and made a sacrifice. He changed its name to Pella because the Tyche of the city of Apamea had this name, for Seleucus was from Pella, the city in Macedonia. He made a sacrifice, of a bull and a goat. Once again, the eagle came and picked up the heads of the bull and goat.[263]

The information contained in this passage is opposite to the one transmitted by Strabo in the passage above. Scholars tend to consider this passage with caution warning that the information as we read it in the passage might simply be a mistake by Malalas.[264] Yet, the possibility that this version of the story was already in Pausanias' text cannot be completely excluded. It may have represented a variation of the official version of the myth transmitted orally within the civic context and then written down by Pausanias. In any case, what is interesting to note here is that the passage seems to show that an association between Pella and Seleucid Apamea did exist.

In addition, it is also interesting to note that the geographical features of Pella described in the story from Ps. Oppian are very similar to those of Seleucid Apamea as described by Strabo. In the passage from Ps. Oppian quoted above, Pella is described as located in a "high and well-fortified position"; in addition, the city is also referred to as Chersonesus, meaning 'peninsula, because, as the text shows, it was situated in an area between a river (Orontes) and a lake (Meliboea). Strabo, while describing the geography of Seleucid Apamea, provides us with very similar details:

ἡ δ᾽ Ἀπάμεια καὶ πόλιν ἔχει τὸ πλέον εὐερκῆ: λόφος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν πεδίῳ κοίλῳ τετειχισμένος καλῶς, ὃν ποιεῖ χερρονησίζοντα ὁ Ὀρόντης καὶ λίμνη περικειμένη μεγάλη καὶ ἕλη πλατέα λειμῶνάς τε βουβότους καὶ ἱπποβότους διαχεομένους ὑπερβάλλοντας τὸ μέγεθος: ἥ τε δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς κεῖται (καὶ δὴ καὶ Χερρόνησος ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός) καὶ χώρας εὐπορεῖ παμπόλλης εὐδαίμονος, δι᾽ ἧς ὁ Ὀρόντης ῥεῖ […].

[263] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.18 .
[264] See for example J. Balty (1981), 5-14; (1997), 794-798; J.C. Balty (2000), 167-170; (2003), 212-217; Primo (2009), 281.

> Apamea also has a city that is in general well-fortified; for it is a beautifully fortified hill in a hollow plain, and this hill is formed into a peninsula by the Orontes and by a large lake which lies nearby and spreads into the broad marshes and exceedingly large cattle-pasturing and horse-pasturing meadows. So, the city is thus safely situated; and so, too, it was called Cherronesus, because of the fact in the case; and it is well supplied with a very large and fertile territory, through which the Orontes flows […].[265]

Apamea is described by Strabo as a city well fortified and located on a hill. He also states that the area where the city is situated resembles a peninsula, being surrounded by the river Orontes on one side and by a lake on the other. Finally, he adds that Apamea was also called Chersonesus. The geographical features of Apamea that are emphasised by Strabo are the same ones, which, in our poem, describe Pella. In addition, Strabo also describes the territory of Seleucid Apamea, through which the Orontes flows, as very fertile. A similar characteristic can be found attributed to the area, in Ps. Oppian's text.[266] Therefore, Pella in Ps. Oppian's text can be equated with Seleucid Apamea. We will come back to this point later.

All this evidence, therefore, seems to suggest that Pella in the story was meant to be Seleucid Apamea rather than pre-Seleucid Pella. It is of course not completely impossible that the myth concerning Orontes, Meliboea, and Heracles may transmit some details which were elaborated at the time of Alexander or Antigonus, namely when Pella had not yet been conquered by Seleucus I and refounded as Apamea. However, it seems clear that Seleucid Apamea is at stake here; therefore, any possible previous narrative seems to have been re-adapted to fit the Seleucid city. Additionally, the name Pella may have remained in use in Apamea as a reminder of the ancient past of the city; Pella was an illustrious name as it recalled Macedonia. Kosmin argued that the name Pella was used in the myth from Ps. Oppian to invent a Bronze age of Apamea.[267] I agree with him and argue that the name Pella, as we shall see, might have indeed been used to refer to the mythical past of the city.

I will now concentrate on other details from the story and show how it can be considered as part of a wider Apamean origin myth, with the name Pella representing the mythical past of Seleucid Apamea. I will compare the story concerning Heracles as transmitted by Ps. Oppian

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[265] Str. 16.2.10 Plutarch, similarly, refers to Seleucid Apamea as the Syrian Chersonese. Plut. *Dem*. 52.3. See also Plut. *Dem*. 50.5.
[266] [Opp.] *Cyn*. 2.150-153.
[267] Kosmin (2014), 232.

with the origin myth of Antioch and show how Heracles features in the mythical times of the Antiochene myth too.

Pausanias of Antioch and Libanius both narrate stories concerning the Antiochene Heracles and its role in the mythical beginnings of the Seleucid city. Let us first turn to Malalas. He introduces the figure of Heracles in his work while discussing the origins of Daphne, the most renowned quarter of Antioch which was founded, as the city itself, by Seleucus I:

> Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλεῖδα τήν ποτε πόλιν, νυνὶ δὲ λεγομένην Δάφνην, ἐφύτευσε τὰς κυπαρίσσους πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, μετὰ τὰς φυτευθείσας κυπαρίσσους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τοῦ τελεστοῦ, τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Δάφνην εἰς ὄνομα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ καλέσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρακλεῖδα πόλιν.
>
> Seleucus planted the cypresses in the city that once was Heracleis, but is now known as Daphne, near the temple of Apollo; these followed the cypresses planted by Heracles, the wonder worker, who built Daphne and called it the city of Heracleis, after himself.[268]

According to Malalas, Daphne was founded by Heracles and called after him. The Greek hero, therefore, appears in the mythical times of the Seleucid city. Hints to the presence of Heracles and his kinship in the mythical times of Antioch can also be found in passages from Libanius' *Antiochicus*. The rhetor, who expands in depth on the period before the arrival of Seleucus I in the city, informs us that Heracles' sons had settled in Antioch:

> καὶ μόνοις ἡμῖν αἱ ῥίζαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις σεμνὰ συνήγαγον εἰς ταυτό, τὴν Ἀργείων παλαιότητα, τὴν Κρητικὴν εὐνομίαν, γένος ἐκ Κύπρου βασίλειον, τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀπορροήν.
>
> We alone have origins which have brought together in the same place the noble elements provided by each of our sources: the high antiquity of the Argives, the just laws of the Cretans, a royal race from Cyprus, and the line of Heracles.[269]

As the passage shows, Libanius, while praising the illustrious past of Antioch, names the line of Heracles among the founders of the city. This is further confirmed in another part of the

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[268] Malal. 8.19 Although this passage refers to Daphne and the founding activity of Seleucus I neither Jacoby nor Garstad considered it to be part of Pausanias of Antioch's work and thus they did not include it in their selection of fragments.

[269] Lib. *Or*. 11.57. (All the translations of Libanius' text in this chapter are from Downey 1959). These elements have been discussed in detail in chapter 2, sect. 2.3.

same oration, where he provides us with more details concerning the presence of Heracles' relatives in Antioch:

> λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν τινας κατὰ τὴν ἔλασιν ἣν ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως ἠλαύνοντο, πολλοὺς Ἠλείων ἄγοντας καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐρώπην ἅπασαν, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὴν ἄλλην ὑπεριδόντας ἐνταῦθα στῆσαι τοὺς μόχθους καὶ αὐτοῦ τε ἱδρυθῆναι καὶ προσθήκην ἀνεγεῖραι τῇ πόλει τὴν Ἡράκλειαν.
>
> It is said also that some of the Heracleidae, after the exile to which they were driven by Eurystheus, taking with them many Eleans, after they had seen and disapproved of the whole of Europe and the remainder of Asia, put an end here to their toils and settled themselves and built Heraclea as an addition to the city.[270]

According to Libanius, the sons of Heracles, after being exiled by Eurystheus, would have chosen the area of the future Antioch as a new place to settle and they would have founded Heraclea. The latter will be later refounded as Daphne. This story loosely recalls the passage from Pausanias.

The evidence from Pausanias and Libanius shows that Heracles and his descendants featured prominently in the pre-foundation narrative of Antioch; they appear as the mythical founders of the city preceding the arrival of its historical founder, Seleucus I. According to this, it might be possible that the story of Heracles in the text from Ps. Oppian might have formed, too, the mythical narrative of a wider origin myth of Seleucid Apamea. The Apamean/Pellan Heracles would have preceded the arrival of Seleucus in Apamea.

Other evidence from the Antiochene account would support this. In the Antiochene myth, names which recall Macedonian places, such as Bottia and Emathia, appear in those sections of the origin myth which narrate the mythical times of the city. The name Pella, as we have seen, refers to a Macedonian place, too. I suggest that this might appear in the narrative of the mythical past of Seleucid Apamea, as well.

In order to discuss the Macedonia-related names in the account concerning the mythical beginnings of Antioch, I will turn again to Pausanias and Libanius. Pausanias tells us that the village of Bottia was located in the same area as Antioch and that it already existed when Seleucus built the new city. When Seleucus arrived, Pausanias goes on, he sacrificed a virgin

[270] Lib. *Or*. 11.56.

called Aemathe and built a temple to Zeus Bottius.[271] Libanius provides us with a similar account, although different in some details.[272] He mentions the temple to Zeus Bottius and the citadel of Emathia; he agrees with Pausanias on the fact that both the temple and the citadel pre-date the arrival of Seleucus and the foundation of Seleucid Antioch.[273] It is clear that the virgin Aemathe in Malalas corresponds to the citadel of Emathia in Libanius.[274] The names Bottia and Aemathe/Emathia can be associated with Macedonia.[275] According to literary evidence, Bottia was a region that belonged to the lower part of ancient Macedonia[276] and it was located next to the region of Pieria. Ancient authors also place Emathia in ancient lower Macedonia[277], in the same area of Bottia; although it is not always clear whether Emathia represented a region of ancient Macedonia itself or a city.[278] In addition, Emathia is also said to be the ancient name of Macedonia.[279] It is unfortunately not known precisely when this toponymy was transferred from Macedonia to Syria, whether during Alexander's campaigns, or later when Antigonus or Seleucus conquered north Syria.[280] In any case, it seems clear that these Macedonia-related names became at some point intertwined within the origin narrative of the Seleucid city. In particular, the names of Bottia and Aemathe/Emathia are connected within the story to a time frame which precedes the arrival of the historical founder of Antioch, namely Seleucus I, who does not appear directly linked with their foundation in the myth. In other words, they are associated with the civic mythical beginnings within a wider origin myth. According to the evidence from Antioch's stories, I would suggest that the name Pella which appears in the poem and which also recalls a Macedonian name might have been part of the stories concerning the mythical past of Seleucid Apamea too, aimed at emphasising a further connection between the newly founded Apamea and the Macedonian landscape.

It is interesting to note that not only can the Apamean Heracles episode be compared to the origin myth of Antioch but it also presents similarities with Apollonius Rhodius' *ktisis*-

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[271] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.12.
[272] Lib. *Or*. 11.76.
[273] For further comments on this passage from Libanius see chapter 2 sect. 2.3.
[274] This matter has been discussed in chapter 2, sect. 2.3.
[275] For a fuller treatment of this topic see Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming).
[276] Str. 7.20; Hdt. 7.123.3-124; Thuc. 2.99-100; Diod. 7.16.
[277] Hom. *Il*. 14,.226; Plb. 23.10.4; Liv. 40.3.3.
[278] St. Byz., *s.v*. Emathia; Str. 7.11. Cf. Papazoglou (1988), 196-198; Hatzopoulos (1996), 239-242 for a discussion.
[279] Just. 7.1.1; 11; Str. 7.11; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4.10; St. Byz., *s.v*. Emathia; Solinus 1.15; *Ant. Pal*. 6.114; 116; Zon. 12.26. Cf. Papazoglou (1988), 126.
[280] For discussion see Balty - Balty (1977), 110; Billows (1990), 299; Balty (2003), 212-214.

material. Apollonius also, as we shall see, transmits, in his poems, episodes which do not strictly involve the actual foundation of the city[281]. Unfortunately, Apollonius' poems have survived only in fragments; these, nonetheless, allow us to highlight interesting patterns.
The first fragment I will discuss belongs to Apollonius' *Foundation of Alexandria*. This has survived in the scholia on Nicander of Colophon's *Theriaca* (*Concerning venomous beasts*). As regards Apollonius, the scholiast writes:

> περὶ γοῦν τῆς τῶν δακνόντων θηρίων γενέσεως, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν Τιτάνων τοῦ αἵματος, […] Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κτίσει ἀπὸ τῶν σταγόνων τοῦ τῆς Γοργόνος αἵματος·
>
> As regards the origins of the beasts which bite, (it is said) that they originate from the Titans' blood […] Apollonius Rhodius, in his *Foundation of Alexandria*, (says that they originate) from the Gorgon's blood drops. [282]

According to the text, Apollonius, in his foundation myth of Alexandria, would have included a story involving the Gorgon, her blood and some beasts. Luckily, we find the full myth narrated by Apollonius himself in the *Argonautica*. According to the story:

> εὖτε γὰρ ἰσόθεος Λιβύην ὑπερέπτατο Περσεύς
> Εὐρυμέδων (καὶ γὰρ τὸ κάλεσκέ μιν οὔνομα μήτηρ)
> (1515) Γοργόνος ἀρτίτομον κεφαλὴν βασιλῆι κομίζων,
> ὅσσαι κυανέου στάγες αἵματος οὔδας ἵκοντο,
> αἱ πᾶσαι κείνων ὀφίων γένος ἐβλάστησαν.
>
> When over Libya flew godlike Perseus Eurymedon - for by that name his mother called him - bearing to the king the Gorgon's head newly severed, all the drops of dark blood that fell to the earth, produced a brood of those serpents.[283]

The episode narrates the travel of Perseus over Libya with the severed head of the Gorgon. Serpents would have been produced from the blood of the monster. According to the story, Perseus does not found any traditional colonial element in the area such as a temple or a settlement; yet this story is included in the Alexandrian civic myth by Apollonius. The story is strictly connected with Alexander the Great's foundation of Alexandria. The *Alexander Romance* informs us that when the Macedonian had arrived at the site of the future

[281] Barbantani (2014), 211-212; see also Barbantani in *FGrHist* 1766.
[282] F 4 Powell = *Sch. Nicand. Ther.* 11.
[283] Ap. Rh. 4.1513-1517. (Transl. by Seaton 1912). See also Ogden (2008), 49.

Alexandria and was about to found the city, a serpent would have appeared and would have tried to stop him and his men from pursuing the foundation.[284] It seems very likely that this story was transmitted in Apollonius' *Foundation of Alexandria*, too. The episode of Perseus concerning the making of the serpents may have aimed at narrating the mythical events in the area before the arrival of Alexandria's historical founder and the foundation of Alexandria. The story is interesting as it supports the idea that the episode concerning the Apamean Heracles transmitted by Ps. Oppian might, too, have been part of a more complex origin myth.

The second fragment I will consider comes from Apollonius' *Foundation of Cnidus*. The fragment has survived thanks to Stephanus of Byzantium. The text reads:

> Ψυκτήριος, τόπος ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀναψύξαντος τὸν ἱδρῶτα ἐν τῷ καταπαλαῖσαι τὸν Ἀδραμύλην, καθώς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν Κνίδου κτίσει.
>
> Psykterios: a place in Thrace named after Heracles when he dried his sweat after having defeated, in a battle, Adramyles. Apollonius says this in the *Foundation of Cnidus*.[285]

According to Stephanus' words, Apollonius would have included in his Cnidian foundation poem an episode concerning Heracles. This would have narrated the fight between Heracles and Adramyles, which would have resulted in the naming (or foundation) of a new place. This episode from Cnidus' account reminds us, too, of the Heracles episode from our poem. The Apamean Heracles named the plain that he freed from the water, and later civilized, after himself. The Cnidian Heracles does seem to play a part in the foundation narrative of the city; yet not in the traditional sense.

While commenting on Apollonius' *ktisis* literature, Krevans has convincingly stated that "the poems clearly included material not directly connected to foundation legends indicated by the title".[286] She has argued, building on Dougherty's argument, that this was probably due to the fact that in the Hellenistic period the foundation literature reached a new level, and it was developed as a new and independent genre.[287] I agree with her point and suggest that our poem, which narrates the actions of Heracles on the Apamean plain as well as the love between Meliboea and Orontes, might also belong to this new genre of literature. The notion that the Heracles episode may represent a marginal tale in a wider Apamean origin myth may

[284] *Alex. Rom*. 1.32.5. Ogden (2015), 129-150 provides an interesting commentary on the passage.
[285] F 6 Powell = St. Byz. s.v. Psychterios.
[286] Krevans (2000), 78; 82.
[287] Krevans (2000), 69-72; Dougherty (1994), 35-46.

be supported by a statement made by Ps. Oppian himself. At the end of the excursus dedicated to Apamea, he promises his readers that he would tell more about the glories of Apamea:

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ κόσμον ἀείσομεν
εὐρέα κάλληπάτρης ἡμετέρης ἐρατῇ Πιμπληΐδι μολπῇ·

"Howbeit the spacious glories of our fatherland we shall sing in due order with sweet Pimplean song".[288]

Unfortunately, he does not appear to keep his word.

In what follows I will focus on another aspect of the myth from Ps. Oppian, namely the possible Seleucid origin of the Apamean story. I suggest that the Apamean account may have already circulated within the Seleucid court at the time of Seleucus I. I will look at numismatic evidence from the time of Seleucus I and show that the king presented himself in connection with Heracles. Erickson has argued that the image of Heracles was prominent on coins issued under Seleucus I. The Greek hero appears on both Alexandrine type tetradrachms and non-Alexandrine bronze issues.[289] On Alexandrine type tetradrachms, he is depicted as wearing a lion-skin headdress; this coinage was struck in almost all the mints, which issued silvers, such as Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, and Laodicea in Syria, as well as at Babylon, Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa and Ecbatana. Erickson has stated that the image of Heracles must have been of some significance for Seleucus, given the prominence of coins depicting the Greek hero and god.[290] Heracles also appears on obverse types of non-Alexandrine bronze coinage. Issues were struck in Aradus, for example, showing the head of Heracles wearing a lion-skin headdress as obverse type.[291] In addition, a bearded Heracles wearing the usual lion-skin headdress appears on the obverse of bronze coinage from an Eastern Mint (Uncertain Mint 15, possibly Bactra).[292] According to Erickson, Seleucus would have introduced the bearded Heracles' iconography with the aim of differentiating his association with Heracles from that of Alexander,[293] while presenting Heracles as more connected to the Seleucid dynasty. Therefore, according to the evidence from coins and the appearance of Heracles in the origin myth of Antioch, it might be argued that also the

[288] [Opp.] *Cyn*. 2.156-157.
[289] Erickson (2009), 84-86; also Canepa (2014), 19; 26.
[290] Erickson (2009), 84.
[291] Houghton and Lorber (2002), nos. 72-73.
[292] Houghton and Lorber (2002), nos. 264-266.
[293] Erickson (2009), 86; (2013), 111-116.

Apamean Heracles and the story concerning his actions might have possibly originated within a Seleucid court environment.

Lastly, I would like to briefly introduce a new piece of evidence which, I suggest, would further support the idea that the story from Ps. Oppian might be part of a wider origin myth on the beginnings and foundation of Apamea. Two very interesting mosaics from Apamea have been recently discovered. This new discovery, however, has appeared only when this thesis was already finished and almost ready for the final submission. Therefore, in what follows I will put forward some preliminary thoughts on it, which are meant as a starting point for future discussion and in-depth analysis on this extremely valuable discovery. These two new mosaics seem to have firstly appeared in Apamea in 2011 when they were unfortunately cut from their bedding and stolen by smugglers; photographs of them, however, were taken by an anonymous individual during the excavations. Only very recently, in 2017, these photos have been identified by Prof. Olszewski and Dr. Saad who begun to examine them and emphasise the historical value of the mosaics.[294] As we shall see, Heracles and Archippus, the chief of Pella in Ps. Oppian's story, are represented in these mosaics and they appear in connection with Seleucus I. The first mosaic is dated to the fourth century AD. The main scene (Fig.14) represents a sacrifice; five figures are also depicted, four of them are identified by a Greek legend. An altar with burning fire is depicted in the middle of the scene. An eagle is flying above the altar holding the head of a bull in its talons. Seleucus I is standing on the right side of the altar and Antiochus I on the left. Both are placing some sacrificial meat in the fire. Heracles is depicted behind Seleucus, looking at the sacrifice; he is flanked by the figure of a woman, who has been tentatively identified as Calliope.[295] Unfortunately, however, the section of the mosaic were the legend was situated is highly damaged so it is impossible to identify the girl with certainty.[296] On the other side of the scene, another woman is depicted standing beside Antiochus I. The Greek legend placed above the figure identifies her as Ktisis, the female personification of foundation of the city.

[294] Only two articles concerning the mosaics have been published so far; see Olszewski (2017), 4-5 for the mosaic concerning Heracles and Olszewski and Saad (2017) http://popular-archaeology.com/issue/fall-2017/article/wanted-a-remarkable-piece-of-history for the other one with Archippus.
[295] Olszewski (2017), 4-5. The author however does not explain how he identified the woman with Calliope.
[296] The woman may represent either the city's Tyche or the Victory as in the case of the Paseria relief; see chapter 2, sect. 2.2.3.

Figure 14: Olszewski (2017), 4.

It has been tentatively suggested that this scene refers to the foundation of Antioch on the Orontes.[297] This is certainly plausible; as we have seen, the figure of Heracles and in particular his descendants appear in the mythical past of the city. However, I would suggest that this scene might also represent the foundation of Apamea. Firstly, the scene recalls the content of the passage from Pausanias of Antioch concerning the foundation of Apamea which we have discussed above. According to the myth, Seleucus would have sacrificed a bull and a goat; an eagle, then, would have appeared snatching part of the sacrificial victims from the altar. Secondly, the scene on the mosaic recalls the theme of the second mosaic from Apamea. I will now briefly look at the latter and come back later to the one concerning Heracles and the sacrifice.

The second mosaic is dated, too, to the fourth century AD. It is larger than the previous one and has the shape of a rectangular panel measuring c.a. 19 m^2; it presumably belonged to a hall of a residence of a wealthy or important person in Apamea (perhaps a member of the Roman administration).[298] The scene represented on the panel can be divided into three sections. The first two sections are the most interesting for my argument (as they clearly represent the foundation of Apamea). The first section (Fig.15), on the upper zone of the

[297] Olszewski (2017), 4-5. No evidence however, has been presented which would support this statement. The only point made was that the foundation myth of Antioch is the best known as it was transmitted by Libanius and Malalas and depicted on the Paseria relief.
[298] http://popular-archaeology.com/issue/fall-2017/article/wanted-a-remarkable-piece-of-history.

panel, presents a man in the middle of the scene; he is holding a spear above sacrificial bulls. A Greek legend names him as Archippus. It is very likely that this Archippus is the same one mentioned in the story transmitted by Ps. Oppian, the one who would have summoned Heracles to Pella.[299] We will come back to him later. He is flanked by two other men who are identified by the legends as Antipater and Cassander (Antipater's son), two of Alexander's Diadochi.[300]

Figure 15: http://popular-archaeology.com/issue/fall-2017/article/wanted-a-remarkable-piece-of-history

The second section (Fig.16), which is the central zone of the mosaic, presents six figures in rich attires as well as civic monumental buildings and craftsmen working on the city's fortifications. The figures, which are all identified by Greek legends, are, again, Archippus, Antipater, and Cassander and in addition Seleucus I, Apama, his wife, and Antiochus I. Seleucus is represented as a *ktistes*, holding in his hand an architect's tool. Among the monumental buildings in the background, a temple can be recognised as well as a hippodrome.

[299] Ps. Oppian's text and now the mosaic is the only evidence of Archippus. Hollis (1994), 159, n. 38 suggested that the name may refer to Seleucus I as the king served as an infantry general under Alexander; or to Apamea itself since, according to Str. 16.2.10, the city was known to be the Seleucid royal stud consisting of more than thirty thousand mares and three hundred stallions.

[300] It has been suggested by Olszewski and Saad that they may have perhaps played some role in the foundation of either pre-Seleucid Pella or Apamea.

Figure 16: http://popular-archaeology.com/issue/fall-2017/article/wanted-a-remarkable-piece-of-history

Finally, the third and last section of the mosaic (Fig.17), in the lower part of the panel, shows scenes of suburban life. A Roman bath seems to be represented with women and children enjoying peaceful moments in the pools.

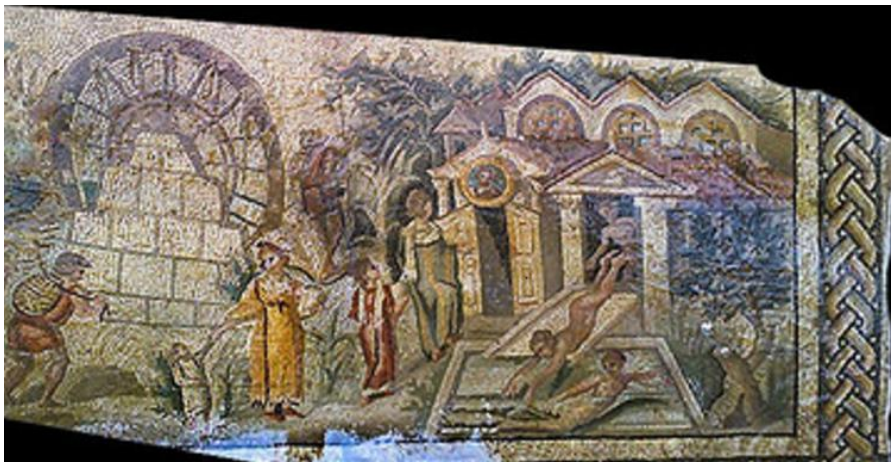

Figure 17: http://popular-archaeology.com/issue/fall-2017/article/wanted-a-remarkable-piece-of-history

As we have seen, the first two scenes of this panel represent the foundation of Seleucid Apamea which also includes the figure of the mythical Archippus. In light of this, I would, therefore, suggest that the scene from the first mosaic which has Seleucus and Antiochus sacrificing as well as Heracles might represent, too, the foundation of Apamea. It may very well have meant to represent a different moment in the foundation of the city, namely the sacrifice. The first mosaic, in addition, comes, as the one just analysed, from Apamea; this would further support the idea that the scene is meant to represent the founding of Apamea rather than Antioch.

If this is the case, the scenes from the two mosaics would show that elements from the mythical past of the city, namely Archippus and Heracles, are connected with Seleucus I, the historical, founder of the city, as part of the same narrative. Therefore, this would further confirm that the story which we read in Ps. Oppian was one section of an Apamean origin myth where the actions of Heracles and Archippus were intertwined to those of Seleucus. In addition, the scenes represented on the two mosaics would further identify the Pella of the story with Seleucid Apamea.

To sum up, the evidence discussed so far concerning the origin myth of Antioch, the coinage, as well as the new mosaics would suggest that the poem transmitted by Ps. Oppian represented a narrative of mythical civic beginnings within a wider Apamean myth of origins. The poem may have originated within a Seleucid environment, possibly already under Seleucus I, as the relationship between the Seleucid king and Heracles would show.

Before turning to the second part of the chapter, I would like to discuss one last interesting point that has emerged from the scholarly debate concerning the Apamean myth. This may further confirm the ideas presented above concerning the nature of the story transmitted by Ps. Oppian. In a recent article, L'Allier has suggested that our poem could represent the Hellenised version of a local myth concerning a local god. The story of Heracles and his actions on the plain which are described in the account by Ps. Oppian, could reflect those of Erragal, a local god who resembles the Greek Heracles in various aspects.[301] Interestingly, the myth of Antioch also presents an episode where Hellenistic and local elements have been syncretised. That episode is part of the city's narrative concerning the mythical times of Antioch. According to the Antiochene myth as transmitted by Pausanias, before the arrival of Seleucus and the foundation of Seleucid Antioch, Perseus would have stopped by the site of the future Antioch to greet Triptolemus and his companions who had already settled in the territory. Once Perseus arrived in the land, a storm struck the area and caused the river Orontes to flood. While the Argives were praying for the flood to stop, a ball of fire fell from the sky which halted the rain; Perseus immediately lit a fire from it and built a temple to protect it which he called the Temple of Eternal Fire. Then, according to the story, he carried the fire to the Persian lands.[302] Similar to the Heracles episode from the Apamean myth, the Perseus episode presents syncretism of Greek and local elements. The temple of Eternal Fire

[301] L'Allier (2015), 43-55; 54-55.
[302] Malal. 2.12 The first part of this passage has also been discussed in chapter 2, sect. 2.2.2.

refers to the Zoroastrian fire temples. These were seemingly established in the territories of the Persian Empire in the fourth century BC by the Achaemenids to support the cult of fire, one of the fundamental features of the Persian religion.[303] The storm, the ball of fire from the sky, and the arrival of the fire on the mountain that we find in Pausanias recall episodes concerning Persian mythology and cosmology which can be found in the *Avesta* and in the later *Bundahishn* (or Primal Creation).[304] In the *Avesta* and in the *Bundahishn*, there is a list of the five Persian fires.[305] Among them is Fire Vazisth. This is described as the fire which is in a cloud and which opposes a monster/demon who raises storms. This would echo the fire in Pausanias' story, which descending from the sky, opposes the storm and halts it. In another chapter of the *Bundahishn*, the same fire from the cloud is also described as fighting against the rainy monster by means of its club.[306] The *Bundahishn* and the *Avesta* offer, in addition, another interesting episode that seems to have some elements in common with our Perseus and fire episode. In the chapter dedicated to the nature of fire[307] it is narrated that mythical Persian kings established the three Persian sacred fires (i.e. Adar Farnbag, Adar Gushnasp, and Adar Burzin Mihr) on various Iranian mountains.[308] The story concerning the fire Adar Farnbag, (i.e. the fire of the "royal glory given", also known as Bahram, Vahram, and Xvarənah) is particularly interesting. According to it, King Yima (Jamshed) after having saved Adar Farnbag from the hand of a monster established it on a glorious mountain at an appointed place that he had built. This reminds one of our episode where Perseus, similarly to the King Yima, established the sacred fire on top of Mount Silpius. Although the story of the three fires that we read in the *Bundahishn* was elaborated in the later Parthian or Sasanian period (when three categories of Fire temples were established[309]), the Adar Farnbag is far more ancient than the two fires and we already find its story mentioned, together with Yima, in the Avesta.[310] The Zoroastrian religion had a strong presence in the areas of Asia Minor and Syria. This remained even after the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire when the Seleucid dynasty took over the territory.[311] The episode of Perseus in the myth of Antioch may, therefore, have been elaborated to explain in Greek terms the Persian religious elements

[303] Boyce (1975), 454-465; (1982), 221-224; De Jong (1997), 343-349 ; contra Canepa (2013), 64-90.
[304] Messina (1935), 257-290; Henning (1942), 229-48; MacKenzie (1964), 511-529.
[305] *Ys*. 17.11 (Mills 1898); *Bd*. 17.1 (West 1897).
[306] *Bd*. 7.11.
[307] *Bd*. 17.5-8.
[308] For the distinction between the five fires and the three sacred fires see Williams-Jackson (1921), 81-106; Boyce (1965); Malandra (1983), 159-161.
[309] Boyce (1982), 221.
[310] *Yt*. 19 with Darmesteter (1960), 615-641; Boyce (1982), 222-225; Boyce (1983), 473-475.
[311] Boyce (1991), 339-359.

present in the area.[312] Particularly interesting is the fact that the story of Perseus, which syncretises local and Greek elements, was integrated in the wider origin myth of Antioch. According to this evidence from Antioch, therefore, it is not impossible that the Apamean episode of Heracles, which, as L'Allier has demonstrated, presents both local and Greek elements, might have been part of a wider civic origin account, too. As the episode concerning Perseus, the story from Ps. Oppian may have enriched the pre-foundation narrative of the Apamene account by intertwining local elements already in the area with the Seleucid presence. In the next section of the chapter I will explore how all these elements from Apamea's civic past were received and reinterpreted in third-century AD Apamea.

3.3 Ps. Oppian, Apamea's mythical beginnings, and Caracalla's Alexander-mania

I will now turn to Ps. Oppian and his reception of the Apamean origin story. I argue that Ps. Oppian emphasised the connection between Apamea, Heracles and Pella in order to engage within a wider cultural climate which involved the Greek cities of the Roman East in the third century AD. Under Caracalla these cities responded to the emperor's interest in Heracles by presenting Caracalla as linked with the Greek hero and Alexander the Great. In order to demonstrate this, I will, firstly, discuss Caracalla's interest in Heracles and Alexander; I will briefly look at the evidence we have concerning this topic and what it tells us about the role played by Heracles in the life of Caracalla. Then, I will turn to analyse how Greek cities in the Greco-Roman world reshaped their past claiming Heracles and Alexander as their ancestors and emphasised a connection between them and Caracalla. Ps. Oppian and his *Cynegetica*, I posit, represent one example of this tendency.

3.3.1 Caracalla, Alexander the Great and Heracles

The majority of our evidence concerning Caracalla and his interest in things Hellenistic comes from literary sources, the main ones being Cassius Dio, Herodian, and the *Historia Augusta*. The portrait of Caracalla that emerges from them is one of a man highly obsessed with the image of Alexander and with Alexander-related themes. Caracalla's interest in Alexander the Great was a topic very much discussed by scholars in the last century.[313] Baharal has highly questioned this image from the sources considering it the result of exaggeration and invention by the ancient authors who were very often biased and showed

[312] Boyce (1991), 355: "The existence of a fire temple in such a place (i.e. Antioch) would not, however, be in itself surprising". For further details on this episode cf. Engels and Grigolin (forthcoming).
[313] For a full discussion on literary sources on Caracalla see, in particular, Espinosa (1990), 37-51; Baharal (1994), 524-567; (1996), 69-77 with bibliography.

hostility towards Caracalla.[314] On the other hand, it has also been noted that, although the literary sources certainly exaggerated some aspects of Caracalla's Alexander-mania, they provide us with some elements of truth concerning the relationship between the emperor and Alexander.[315] In other words, although literary sources have to be considered with caution, they do confirm that Caracalla did admire Alexander and wanted to emulate him.

Ancient writers, while discussing Caracalla in their works, also mention the emperor's attention towards Heracles; yet, the picture they draw is quite confusing and they do not explicitly state whether this attention was affected in any way by the emperor's Alexander-mania. For this reason, there is still much debate around this matter; in fact, some scholars believe that Caracalla was not interested in Heracles at all.[316] In what follows I will discuss this aspect and argue that Caracalla did show an interest in the Greek hero and that this might represent another aspect of his Alexander-imitation.

Let us now turn to see how the literary sources present the relationship between Caracalla and Heracles. Both Dio and the author of the *Historia Augusta* mention the pair in their works. Dio writes:

> ὅτι τὸν Κίλωνα τοσοῦτον ἠγάπα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ὥστε εἰπεῖν ὅτι "οἱ τούτῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκότες ἐμοὶ ἐπιβεβουλεύκασιν". ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐπαινούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προσεστηκότων ἔφη "ἐμὲ μήθ' Ἡρακλέα μήτ' ἄλλον θεόν τινα ἐπικαλεῖτε", οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο θεὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον θεοῦ πράττειν ἤθελεν.
>
> Antoninus pretended to love Cilo to such a degree that he declared, "Those who have plotted against him have plotted against me," and when commended for this by the bystanders, he continued: "Call me neither Heracles nor any other god" — not that he did not wish to be termed a god, but because he did not want to do anything worthy of a god.[317]

The passage comes immediately after the narration of Caracalla's attempt to organise the assassination of his tutor Cilo. According to the story, Caracalla had sent soldiers to bring Cilo from his house to the palace to put him to death. However, the people on the street and the city troops reacted to the events and tried to stop the party while it was on its way to the palace. Caracalla joined the people and acted as the saviour of Cilo. At this point, according to Dio's word, the people seemed to have praised Caracalla for his actions. It seems that they

[314] Baharal (1996), 69-71.
[315] Benario (1961); Millar (1964), 215-218; Levick (1969), 445-446; Barnes (1984); Garcia (1990); Espinosa (1990), 37-51; Baharal (1994), 524-567.
[316] Baharal (1996), 78.
[317] Cass. D. 77.5.1 (Transl. adapted from Cary 1914-1927).

might have called Caracalla Heracles and that this would have triggered Caracalla's reply. We will come back to this point later.

A passage from the *Historia Augusta* reveals a similar attitude by people of Caracalla's entourage. The author writes:

> deorum sane se nominibus appellari vetuit, quod Commodus fecerat, cum multi eum, quod leonem aliasque feras occidisset, Herculem dicerent.
>
> He (Caracalla) did not, however, as Commodus had done, permit his men to call him by the names of the gods, for many of them had begun to address him as Hercules because he had killed a lion and some other wild beasts.[318]

As in the previous passage, Caracalla, once again, refused to be referred to as a god and to be called Heracles or, in the Latin, Hercules. While in the previous passage Dio does not specify why the people would have called Caracalla such, in the *Historia Augusta* it seems that the association with Heracles was due to Caracalla's killing of a lion and wild beasts. The two passages provide us with similar information. According to both writers Caracalla did not want to be called a god by his people, who had apparently associated him with the divine Heracles on two different occasions; once during the plot against Cilo and once, after a hunt. The next passage from the *Historia Augusta* provides us with other details:

> Excepit apros frequenter, contra leonem etiam stetit – quando missis ad amicos litteris gloriatus est seque ad Herculis virtutem accessisse iactavit.
>
> He (Caracalla) took wild boars in great numbers and once he even faced a lion — an occasion on which he prided himself, sending a letter to his friends and boasting that he had attained to the prowess of Hercules. [319]

Interestingly, while Caracalla is said not to have accepted his association with the divine Heracles, he does seem perfectly at ease with associating himself with Heracles as the hunting hero, as the passage above seems to suggest. The information we gather from the literary sources appears somewhat misleading; yet it seems to suggest that some type of association between Caracalla and Heracles might have existed. It is possible that while Caracalla might not have liked being associated with Heracles as a god, he might have linked himself to Heracles the hero.

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[318] *Hist. Aug. Carac*. 5.5 (all texts presented here are translated by Peter 1921-1932).
[319] *Hist. Aug. Carac*. 5.9.

This association between Heracles and Caracalla seems to be further supported by numismatic evidence. Before investigating the coinage in more detail, however, it is necessary to look briefly at Septimius Severus and his reign; numismatic evidence of his time informs us that Caracalla's father already employed the image of Heracles. After Severus took control of the Roman Empire (AD 197)[320] he needed to legitimise his power. His main aim was to show that not only was his new position gained through military force but that the gods also supported it. [321] Thus, he claimed a personal relationship with the gods Heracles and Liber Pater. These deities were the tutelary deities (*di patrii*) of Leptis Magna[322], Severus' native land; at the same time, the Roman world was familiar with both these deities and therefore they could be widely interpreted on various different levels (they hinted at Severus' *patria* as well as at Hellenistic and Roman ideology).[323] From AD 202, these deities became *di patrii* not only of Leptis Magna but also of Rome.[324] Heracles, together with Liber Pater, was therefore the personal tutelary deity of the Severan dynasty as well as of all the Roman Empire. In addition, the image of Heracles was also employed by Severus in order to create a link with the previous dynasty, the Antonines. He presented himself as Marcus Aurelius' son and Commodus' brother. By connecting himself with Heracles, Severus, thus, aimed at recalling Commodus' association with the same god and hero.[325] This would have allowed him to set out a continuation between his own dynasty and the previous one. Severus' connection with Heracles and Liber Pater is shown by a huge variety of evidence, numismatic but also otherwise, which Rowan has commented on in detail.[326]

Let us now turn to Caracalla and to his relationship with his father's deities. It has to be borne in mind that from AD 198 to 210, Caracalla ruled together with Severus. From the iconography on coinage of this period it seems clear that also Caracalla associated himself with the *di patrii* Heracles and Liber Pater.[327] However, it has been noted that it was Severus who was in control of the imperial mints and that, therefore, the choice of associating Caracalla with Liber Pater and Heracles mirrored Severus' attitude more than being Caracalla's own personal choice.[328] More interesting is the period, which followed Severus'

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[320] For the events which led to this point see Campbell (1993), 213-240; Southern (2015); Clifford (2012).
[321] Rowan (2012), 33.
[322] Lipinski (1993), 41-50; (2011), 34; see also Lichtenberger (2011).
[323] Rowan (2012), 48.
[324] This again is shown by numismatic evidence: *RIC* 4.1 Septimius Severus762; *RIC* 4.1 Geta 112, 117; *RIC* 4.1 Caracalla 76, 422. Rowan (2012), 75 with discussion.
[325] Palagia (1986), 137-151; Hekster (2002), 104-106; Manders (2012), 108-114; Rowan (2012), 48.
[326] Rowan (2012), 32-109.
[327] Mennen (2006), 262.
[328] Manders (2012), 232.

(and Geta's) death, when Caracalla ruled as sole emperor (AD 212-217). It has been argued that the iconography on Caracalla's coins changed during this period and that it was more focused on other deities, namely Asclepius and Serapis. However, while coinage representing Heracles associated with Liber Pater or Liber Pater alone disappeared, coins with only Heracles continued to be issued under Caracalla. Imperial coinage was struck under the emperor's sole rule bearing as reverse types the image of Heracles naked, standing and holding a branch and a club with lion's skin.[329] Rowan has dismissed this coinage suggesting that it represented only a mere continuation of his father's iconographic choice.[330] She was more interested in emphasising the introduction of the new types concerning Asclepius and Serapis. However, not only did the iconography of Heracles remain on Caracalla's coinage, these coins were issued in huge quantities when compared with those showing the images of Asclepius and Serapis.[331] In addition, Mennen has demonstrated that Caracalla was not interested in showing any association with the Severan dynasty and that he in fact eliminated the dynastic aspects from his representation of power.[332] In doing so he seems also to have eliminated any connection between the Severans and the Antonines, which the father had created at the beginning of his reign.[333] Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the *di patrii* had lost attraction for Caracalla, hence the decrease in the production of coins referring to them during his sole reign and the disappearance of the iconography which depicted Heracles and Liber Pater together.[334] In light of all this, it seems that Caracalla employed the iconography of Heracles on coins as he was personally attached to the Greek hero and that this was done in independence of his father's iconographic choices.

This seems to be further supported by other evidence. I am referring in particular to visual evidence from the baths of Caracalla. The building of the baths begun in AD 212; however, they were dedicated in AD 216.[335] Rowan argued that the sculptural programme of the baths was made according to the ideology of Caracalla, and that they were "a commanding

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[329] *RIC* 4.1, p. 239, no. 192; p. 241 nos. 206a-c; p. 257 no. 239; p. 296 nos. 508a-c; see also Manders (2012), 317.
[330] The last representation of Heracles on coins is dated to AD 214. Cf. Mennen (2006), 232-233 and Rowan (2012), 110. Scholars used this evidence to suggest that the interest of Caracalla towards Heracles disappeared and that it had been pursued only because of his father's choices. However, they base their assumptions on coinage only. If one looks at other evidence, it is clear that the picture of Heracles still appears as connected with Caracalla.
[331] This is evident in the graphic presented by Rowan (2012), 112 which shows that 6% of the coinage produced under Caracalla's sole reign still shows the image of Heracles as type; only 4% of the coinage bears the Asclepius types.
[332] Mennen (2006), 260-262.
[333] Dio 78.16.6; Hdn. 4.6.3; *Hist. Aug. Carac* 9.6 with Mennen (2006), 261.
[334] See also Manders (2012), 234.
[335] DeLaine (1997), 15-16.

monument to the emperor's power".[336] Fortunately, the statues commissioned under the Severans are identifiable.[337] Statues of Heracles from the time of Caracalla appear prominently in the baths. The majority of the Heracles statues were located in the *frigidarium*. Some of them have survived partially destroyed such as a colossal head of Heracles, and a torso of Heracles wearing a lion's skin. Others, on the other hand, are well preserved, for example the so-called Polycleitan Hercules and a marble statue of a resting Heracles. Interestingly, two colossal statues of Heracles, the so-called Hercules Farnese and the Latin Hercules, represent the hero as holding the Hesperidean apples.[338] This iconography recalls one of the Heracles' famous labours and clearly presents Heracles in his heroic status. The so-called Hercules Farnese is also found as a miniature on the columns of the main pools. [339] The imagery from the baths seems to match the narrative from the literary sources and it would therefore suggest that the emperor might have linked himself to the heroic Heracles. We shall see that the same representation of the Greek hero can be found also on civic coinage minted by Greek cities of the Roman East under Caracalla, as well as in Ps. Oppian's account. These are, of course, not the only statues adorning the baths of Caracalla; statues of Asclepius, Achilles and Troilus, which, interestingly, represent Alexander-related themes, were to be found, too; yet the statues of Heracles outnumbered the others. Evidence from coinage and statues would, therefore, further suggest that a certain relationship between Heracles and Caracalla did exist. Although Caracalla did not present himself as the divine Heracles, he seems to have associated himself with the hero.

I will now turn to see how Greek cities of the Roman East engaged with Caracalla's fascination towards Heracles. From this, it emerges that the emperor's interest in Heracles may have been due to his Alexander-mania. Before this, however, I will briefly sketch out the relationship between Alexander and Heracles. It is well known that Alexander the Great and Heracles were associated; Heracles appeared as both the tutelary deity of Alexander and a hero to emulate. Literary and numismatic evidence acknowledge the relationship between Heracles and the Macedonian. Both Plutarch and Arrian, for example, claim Alexander as a descendent of Heracles.[340] In addition, according to Arrian, Alexander frequently sacrificed to Heracles during his journey to the East.[341] For example, when Alexander landed in Asia,

[336] Rowan (2012), 144.
[337] Marvin (1983), 348.
[338] Gasparri (1983-1984); DeLaine (1997): 226-227; Newby (2005), 70-74; Piranomonte (2012), 84.
[339] Newby (2005), 73. See also Beard (1996), 81-104.
[340] Plut. *Alex*. 2; Arr. *An*. 4.10.6; 11.6. See also Curt. 3.12; 8.5.14-19.
[341] Arr.*An*.1.4.5.

after crossing the Hellespont, he would have set up altars and sacrificed to Heracles.[342] Similarly, after arriving in Tyre, he poured libations for the god in the guise of the Tyrian Heracles.[343] Heracles, according to Arrian and Plutarch, would have also assisted Alexander in a dream guiding the Macedonian during the siege of Tyre.[344] Finally, Arrian informs us that Alexander also aimed to surpass Heracles in greatness. He narrates that after Alexander conquered the rock in the Indian area of Bazira, he cheered as he had managed to achieve what Heracles had failed to capture.[345] Numismatic evidence from the time of Alexander would further confirm this image. Alexander, at the beginning of his reign (336 BC), started to issue bronze coins, silver tetradrachms and gold starters. The head of Heracles was depicted on the obverses of bronze and silver issues. In addition, tetradrachms were struck which show the image of Heracles wearing the Nemean lion's skin.[346] As we will see, the same iconography would be associated with Caracalla by the Greek cities of the Roman East. As regards Alexander, Stewart has demonstrated how the iconography was meant to represent a dynastic message and to offer the image of a powerful empire.[347] It has also been argued that Alexander used to represent himself as Heracles on silver coinage.[348] However, scholars are divided on this point.[349] Let us now turn to discuss in detail how Greek cities of the Roman East engaged with these Hellenistic themes.

3.3.2 Alexander, Heracles, and the Greek cities of the Roman East: cultural memories in dialogue

In this section, I will demonstrate how Greek cities of Roman Syria, Asia Minor, and Thrace, emphasised their connection with Heracles and Alexander and also presented Caracalla as associated with them.[350] The aim, I argue, was to engage with the emperor on the basis of a shared culture and to negotiate their cultural position within the Empire. These cities created their own cultural media to express their relationship with the emperor and to respond to him. Most of the evidence is provided by coinage; however, also literary works were employed.

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[342] Arr. *An.* 1.11.7.
[343] Arr. *An*. 2.16.7.
[344] Arr. *An*. 2.18.1. Cf. also Plut. *Alex*. 24.
[345] Arr. *An*. 4.28.4-30.5.
[346] Dahmen (2007), 18.
[347] Stewart (1993), 93; 159 with Fig. 29-31 for pictures of the Alxander coins; see also Dahmen (2007), 108-110.
[348] See for example Bieber (1964), 48-49; Schwarzenberg (1976), 275-276.
[349] Bellinger (1963), 13-21; Mørkholm (1991), 52; Price (1991), 33; Stewart (1993), 158-159; Dahmen (2007), 39-42.
[350] Cities' claims concerning Alexander the Great are usually referred to by scholars as Alexandrolatry. The phenomenon was widespread already under the Antonines but increased under Caracalla and his successors; not only Caracalla was fascinated by Alexander but also Severus Alexander and probably Elagabalus. For this phenomenon and its various manifestations see Blaquez (1990), 25-36.

We will see how Ps. Oppian and his story of the mythical beginnings of Apamea, which emphasises the figure of Heracles and Pella, might fit well into this cultural framework. The cities I will now look at are Alexandria Troas, Ephesus, Prusa, Tarsus, Perintus, Gerasa, Alexandria by Issos, Apollonia Mordaeum, Hierapolis, and Aegae; they provide us with clear and detailed examples of how Caracalla, Heracles, and Alexander were associated by cities on different levels.

Let us first turn to Alexandria Troas. Under Caracalla, the city minted bronze coins depicting Heracles in the process of fulfilling his labours. The reverse types of this coinage has Heracles struggling with Antaeus[351] or resting on a club.[352] The obverse types depict the bust of Caracalla. This first example shows that not only did the city of Alexandria Troas present Caracalla as linked with Heracles, but that it also represented Heracles on the civic coinage while fulfilling one of his labours. This imagery clearly recalls the evidence concerning the emperor, which has been discussed in the previous section.

Figura18: http://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=121&pid=5789#top_display_media

Figure 19: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/cilicia/tarsos/i.html

Another example of this iconography comes from coins from the city of Ephesus in Ionia. Bronze civic issues were minted bearing the head of Caracalla as obverse type, while the reverse shows the image of a running boar fixed by a spear (Fig.18).[353] It has been argued that the beast is meant to represent the Caledonian boar; hence another of Heracles' labours.[354] More intriguing is the coinage produced by the city of Prusa ad Olympum in Mysia and Tarsus in Cilicia. Reverse types of bronze civic coins minted at Prusa under Caracalla show that image of the emperor as strangling the Nemean lion.[355] Similarly, Tarsus issued bronze coins displaying on the obverse types the image of Caracalla while on the reverse type Heracles is depicted fighting against the Lernean hydra (Fig.19).[356] Tarsus, then, similarly to Alexandria Troas, minted civic coins displaying on the

Figura 20: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/tarsos/_tarsos_AE31_SNGLev_1057.html.

[351] *BMC Troas*, p. 22, no. 104, images of this coin and the next one are unfortunately not available on catalogues.
[352] *BMC Troas*, p. 22, no. 105.
[353] *BMC Ionia*, p. 87, no. 280.
[354] Baharal (1996), 80.
[355] *SNG Copenhagen, Bosphorus and Bythinia*, no. 595; Levick (1969), 430. A similar iconography is also found on coins from the city of Alabanda in Caria minted under Caracalla, *BMC Caria*, p. 9, no. 5.
[356] http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_tarsos_AE32_Cornell_116.txt.

reverse Heracles raising Antaeus from the ground; on the bottom of the scene a club and lion skin are depicted. The obverse type bears the bust of Caracalla (Fig.20).[357] Other iconography from Tarsus' coins, in addition, is worth mentioning. The city issued bronze coins bearing the bust of Caracalla as obverse type; while the reverse displays the image of Perseus standing on the right and Heracles standing on the left; the latter is flanked by a club and a lion's skin. The duo is then presented as holding between them the bust of Caracalla (Fig.21).[358] These scenes would suggest that Greek cities of the Roman East did associate Caracalla with Heracles.

Figure 21: http://www.asiaminorcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?album=326&pid=10839#top_display_media

Figure 22: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/thrace/perinthos/i.html

The emperor is identified again with Heracles on coinage from Perinthus in Thrace. Some obverse types depict the emperor receiving apples from Heracles.[359] This iconography clearly recalls the Heracles' labour in the Garden of the Hesperides (Fig.22); interestingly, this reminds us of the two colossal statues from the baths of Caracalla (the Farnese Hercules and the Latin Hercules).

The examples from these cities therefore show that not only was Caracalla associated with Heracles by these cities on their civic issues but that he was also represented while fulfilling Heracles' labours. This representation would match the profile of the emperor given by the literary sources.

Figure 23: Dahmen (2004), plate 17 n. 17.

Other cities of the Roman East would link themselves to Caracalla and Alexander. Let us now turn to Gerasa. The city is located in Southern Syria and is one of the cities of the Decapolis.[360] The settlement very likely already existed before the Hellenistic period as its Semitic toponym suggests.[361] The Greek city may have been founded by either Alexander or Perdiccas and it cannot be excluded that both of them may have played a role in the city's foundation; however, the extant evidence for both Alexander and Perdiccas is very late, namely late antiquity and the Byzantine period. It has been

[357] *SNG Levante,* no. 1057; *BMC Lycaonia*, p. 195 no. 184.
[358] *SNG von Aulock*, no.6019; *SNG France 2*, no. 1539; *SNG Levante*, no. 1069; *BMC Lycaonia*, p. 195 no. 183; *SNG Copenhagen, Lycaonia*, no. 370.
[359] Varbanov (2007) nos. 249 and 251.
[360] On the Decapolis and its civic foundation myths see Lichtenberger (2004), 23-34.
[361] Cohen (2006), 248.

suggested therefore that the city might have re-shaped its past and invented those founders in order to engage with a specific cultural environment.[362] In particular under Caracalla, bronze coins were struck by the city showing the bust of Caracalla as reverse type. The obverse type bears the portrait of Alexander. The legend on the coins presents him as "Macedonian" and *ktistes* (i.e. founder) of Gerasa (Fig.23). [363]

A similar example is provided by the city of Alexandria by Issos, in Cilicia. Under Caracalla, the city minted bronze civic coins bearing as obverse type the image of Alexander in the guise of the city's founder. This imagery is, again, combined with the portrait of Caracalla depicted on the reverse type (Fig.24).[364]

Figure 24: Dahmen (2004), plate 11 n. 11.4

Figure 25: Dahmen (2004), plate 19 n. 19.1

Other examples from cities such as Apollonia Mordaeum and Alexandria Troas show that these cities minted coins under Caracalla where Alexander and Heracles were associated. The city of Apollonia Mordaeum, as the toponym would suggest, was founded on a pre-Hellenistic settlement called Mordaeum in Pisidia.[371] The founder of the Hellenistic city is unknown; it may have been either a member of the Seleucid dynasty or one of the Attalid kings.[372] During Caracalla's reign[373], the city struck bronze coins showing the image of Heracles wearing a lion-scalp headdress on the obverse type. A legend accompanies the image naming Alexander the Great and presenting him as the *ktistes* of the city (Fig.25).[374] The image of Heracles closely resembles the one which is found on coinage of Alexander the Great.[375] This seems to suggest that Heracles was meant by the city to be associated specifically with Alexander.[376] Dahmen has convincingly argued that these issues aimed at "flattering the emperor".[377]

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[362] Cohen (2006), 248.
[363] Dahmen (2007), 29; also, Spijkerman (1978), nos. 29, 31, p.164.
[364] *SNG Levante*, nos. 88-89, p. 99 with Weiss (1996), 162 and Dahmen (2007), 22.
[371] Cohen (1996), 285.
[372] Cohen (1996), 285-286 with bibliography.
[373] The dating of the coinage is not completely certain. Some scholars have argued that the issues may have been minted under Severus or under Caracalla and Severus' joint rule; see, for example, Bahral (1996), 80 Dahmen (2007), 30. However, it has also been argued that the coins might have been issued under Caracalla's sole rule, *BMC Lycia*, 202.
[374] The reverse type does not show the image of Caracalla but that of the river Hippophoras.
[375] For a detailed study of these coins see Stewart (1993).
[376] *BMC Lycia*, p. 202, no.1, pl. 33.1; 204, nos. 9-10; see also *SNG Copenhagen, Pisidia*, no. 96; *SNG von Aulock*, no. 4988; Leschhorn (1984), 218; Weiss (1992), 156; Dahmen (2007), 87 n. 237.
[377] Dahmen (2007), 30.

Similar iconography can be also found on coins from Alexandria Troas. An aureus of the time of Caracalla shows, as the obverse type, the head of Heracles wearing a lion's skin; the reverse displays an image depicting a horse feeding; in addition, there is a legend which names Alexander.[378] Alexandria Troas, as Apollonia Mordaeum, seems, therefore, to be claiming a link with both Alexander and Heracles, and possibly Caracalla.

Furthermore, a tetradrachm from Hieropolis in Syria shows the image of the emperor represented as Alexander the Great. He is represented as holding a shield and a spear. The shield is decorated representing the famous scene of Alexander's capture of his horse Bucephalus (Fig.26).[379]

Figure 26: BMC Troas, p. 12, no. 37.


Figure 27: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/cilicia/aigeai/i.html

Finally, Greek cities also claimed their connection with Alexander by emphasising their link with Macedonia, Alexander's native land. Aegae in Cilicia provides an example of this. The city struck tetradrachms under Caracalla with the legend Makedonike on the left side of obverse type (Fig.27).[380] As we shall see, Ps. Oppian, too, emphasised the link between Apamea and Macedonia.

From the evidence presented so far, it emerges that Alexander, Caracalla, and Heracles were represented as associated on civic issues by some Greek cities of the Roman East. The emperor also appears on coins depicting Heracles' labours. I suggest that these iconographic choices were made by these cities in order to engage with the emperor on the basis of shared cultural memories and Hellenistic themes. In the next section I will focus on yet another example of a Greek city that emphasised the association between Caracalla, Alexander, and Heracles. I will look at Ps. Oppian and his story concerning Apamea. I will argue that the connection between the origins of the Seleucid city and Heracles and Pella was made according to a similar agenda.

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[378] *BMC Troas*, p. 12, no. 37. As regards this iconography Wroth (1894), 12, states: "This specimen is much worn, and the inscription is illegible, though the head of Hercules and the horse are sufficiently clear". He goes on arguing that this specimen should be compared with a similar coin from a French collection which presents the same iconography and bears on the reverse type the legend Alexandros.
[379] *BMC Galatia*, p. 143, no. 44, plate XVII, no. 13; Bellinger (1940), no. 215, p. 66; Salzmann (2001), pp. 182-184, no. 190; Dahmen (2007), 34; 92 n. 297.
[380] *SNG Levante*, no. 1741, pl. 117 with Dahmen (2007), 22.

3.3.3 Apamea, Caracalla, and Ps. Oppian

Before turning to Ps. Oppian's presentation of Apamea, I will briefly summarize the information we have about the author's identity since, as the name Ps. Oppian suggests, this appears to be somewhat problematic. The *Vitae* of Oppian and the *Suda*[381] had identified our poet with Oppian of Cilicia, who was described as the author of two didactic poems, namely the *Halieutica* and the *Cynegetica*. However, modern scholars agree that the author of the *Cynegetica* was from Apamea in Syria[382] rather than from Cilicia; the poem, in addition, is dated to the reign of Caracalla as sole emperor, as we shall see, while the *Halieutica* were composed between AD 176-180. Therefore, our poet cannot be identified with Oppian. Nonetheless, although the name of the author of the *Cynegetica* is unknown, there is enough evidence to confirm that Apamea was his homeland and that he lived under Caracalla.

Let us now turn to see how Ps. Oppian presented his city within his work. The only excursus dedicated by the author to Apamea can be found in book 2 of the *Cynegetica*. It belongs to the section of the book dedicated to the description of the Syrian bulls. Ps. Oppian, while describing the physical appearance of the bulls, introduces his narration concerning Apamea.[383] According to Ps. Oppian, Heracles brought the beasts to the Apamean land. The Greek hero, while travelling with the cattle of Geryon, would have stopped by Pella to pursue a new labour in order to help his friend Archippus. Heracles' endeavour, this time, consisted in cutting out a canal and letting the river Orontes flow through it; as a result, the plain was freed from its water and was, thus, ready to be settled.

The summary clearly shows that the presentation of Apamea by the poet fits well into the wider cultural climate discussed above. Heracles' arrival in Pella is presented within the context of his Labours. According to Ps. Oppian, Heracles was fulfilling his tenth labour (i.e. stealing of the Cattle of Geryon) when he was called by Archippus and decided to stop by Pella. Once there, he was presented as fulfilling yet another labour. As we have seen, other Greek cities do present Heracles in the same way. We have seen that Heracles is presented as fighting Antaeus on coin types of Alexandria Troas and Tarsus; while coinage of Perinthus has Heracles killing the Nemean Lion. The appearance of Heracles as a hero rather than a god in Ps. Oppian's poem would have, in addition, matched the tendencies of Caracalla. As we

[381] For Suda O 452 s.v. Ὀππιανός and the *Vitae* of Oppian see Westermann (1845), 63 ff.
[382] This deduction is based on Ps. Oppian's own statement; he seems to refer to Pella as his own city. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.127: ἐμὴν πόλιν. For a discussion on Ps. Oppian's identity see Mair (1928), xiii ff.; White (1928), 171-175; Hamblenne (1968), 598-619; Costanza (1991); Hollis (1994), 155; Martinez and Silva (2003), 219-230 with selected bibliography; Fitzgerald Johnson (2006), 147; Whitby (2007), 135; Agosta (2009), 73-86.
[383] For the text, see section 3.2 of this chapter.

have seen, literary sources seem to suggest that the emperor tended to associate himself with Heracles the hero. This was further suggested by the statuary from the baths of Caracalla representing Heracles in his heroic status. This would suggest that Ps. Oppian was responding to this cultural discourse and presenting his city within it. Caracalla, Heracles and Alexander seem to have been at stake.

The association between Apamea and Alexander-related themes seems to be emphasised by Ps. Oppian also through the choice of the name Pella. This name recalls the city of Pella in Macedonia, which was the fatherland of Alexander. Therefore, claiming the Macedonian name rather than the Seleucid one, would have allowed Ps. Oppian to present the city as strictly linked with Alexander. As we have seen, other Greek cities, such as Gerasa, Alexandria by Issos, and Aegae in Asia Minor, emphasised a similar link and they, too, presented themselves as Macedonian and associated with Alexander.

Evidence suggests that these allusions to Heracles and Alexander were aimed at directly engaging with Caracalla. The emperor was the addressee of Ps. Oppian's work, as is clearly specified in the prologue of the *Cynegetica*:

> 1 Σοί, μάκαρ, ἀείδω, γαίης ἐρικυδὲς ἔρεισμα,
> φέγγος ἐνυαλίων πολυήρατον Αἰνεαδάων,
> Αὐσονίου Ζηνὸς γλυκερὸν θάλος, Ἀντωνῖνε·
> τὸν μεγάλη μεγάλῳ φιτύσατο Δόμνα Σεβήρῳ,
> 5 ὀλβίῳ εὐνηθεῖσα καὶ ὄλβιον ὠδίνασα,
> νύμφη ἀριστοπόσεια, λεχὼ δέ τε καλλιτόκεια,
> Ἀσσυρίη Κυθέρεια καὶ οὐ λείπουσα Σελήνη […]
>
> I sing, blessed one, to you: you, glorious bulwark of the earth, lovely light of the warlike sons of Aeneas, sweet child of Ausonian Zeus, Antoninus, whom Domna bare to Severus, mighty mother to mighty lord. Happy the husband whom she wedded and happy the son to whom she gave birth — bride of the best of men and mother of a noble son, Assyrian Cytherea, the uneclipsed Moon […].[384]

In the passage, Ps. Oppian explicitly refers to Caracalla; he calls him Antoninus, son of Severus and Julia Domna. The work was meant as a guide for Caracalla to hunt.[385] The fact that the whole work by Ps. Oppian was dedicated to Caracalla might suggest that the

[384] [Opp.] *Cyn*. 1.1-7.
[385] Whitby (2007), 133.

references to Heracles and Pella were aimed at the emperor, too. Furthermore, it is possible that the *Cynegetica* might have been delivered to Caracalla during one of his visits to Apamea. An inscription informs us that the emperor was visiting the city in AD 215, possibly during his imperial tour or in preparation for one of his Eastern campaigns. [386] The text of the inscription informs us that the senate of Apamea welcomed Caracalla and celebrated him.[387] On that occasion, in addition, the city seemed to have adopted the name Antoninopolis as the inscription would suggest. This was possibly meant to be a form of homage to Caracalla. [388] It is possible that the *Cynegetica*, too, was composed as a homage to the emperor on his visit.[389] If this is the case, it would make even more sense to consider the themes in the Apamean excursus from Ps. Oppian as aimed at Caracalla; they might have been meant as a homage by a Greek author to the emperor with reference to their shared cultural interests. It has also been argued that Ps. Oppian himself may have been part of Julia Domna's circle of intellectuals.[390] This would show a more direct relationship between Ps. Oppian and the emperor; hence, Ps. Oppian's willingness to interact with Caracalla. However, this point is still debated among scholars; more importantly, although this possibility cannot be excluded altogether, the evidence of this seems to be too scanty and uncertain to push the argument further.

The evidence presented so far would, therefore, suggest that Ps. Oppian was presenting his city on purpose as linked with Heracles and Alexander. The aim was to engage with Caracalla, as other Greek cities seemed to have done. Interestingly, Caracalla seems to have also been directly associated with Alexander by Ps. Oppian in his work. Lines 16-24 from book four of the *Cynegetica* are particularly interesting. The fourth book of the *Cynegetica* focuses on lions, leopards and bears and gives advice on how to hunt them. In this book, Ps. Oppian, once again, explicitly addresses Caracalla:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω τά τ' ἐμοῖς ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
θήρην ἀγλαόδωρον ἐπιστείχων ξυλόχοισιν,
ὅσσα τ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐδάην, τοῖσιν τὰ μέμηλεν,
αἰόλα παντοίης ἐρατῆς μυστήρια τέχνης,
20 ἱμείρων τάδε πάντα Σεουήρου Διὸς υἱῷ

[386] Balty and Balty (1977), 130.
[387] *IGLS*, IV 1346: [ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ] [νίκης τοῦ κυρίου] [ἡμ]ῶν Α<ὐ>τοκ[ρ(άτορος) Μ. Αὐρ.] Ἀντωνείνου [Εὐσεβ(οῦς)] Εὐτυχοῦς ἀνεική<τ(ου)> Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ δ<ή>[μ]ου Ῥωμαίων, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Κλ(αυδιέων) Ἀπα[μ]έων Ἀντωνεινουπόλεως ἀπαρχομ(ένου) ἐν [α]ὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς μον(ῆς) τῆς γσ'.
[388] Mouterde (1952), 356.
[389] See also Whitby (2007), 133.
[390] Whitby (2007), 133; Levick (2007), 113, 143; contra Bowersock (1969) 108.

ἀείδειν· σὺ δέ, πότνα θεά, παγκοίρανε θήρης,
εὐμενέουσα θοῇ βασιληΐδι λέξον ἀκουῇ,
ὄφρα τεῶν ἔργων προμαθὼν ὀαρίσματα πάντα
θηροφονῇ, μακαριστὸς ὁμοῦ παλάμῃ καὶ ἀοιδῇ.

[…] I will tell what I have seen with my own eyes when following in the woods the chase, splendid gift, and whatever cunning mysteries of all manner of delightful craft I have learned from them whose business it is; fain as I am to sing of all these things to the son of Divine Severus. And do you with your grace, O lady goddess, queen of the chase, declare those things for quick royal ears, so that the king, knowing before all the wisdom of your works, may slay wild beasts, and may be blessed at once in hand and song.[391]

In this passage, the poet is asking Artemis to guide him through the description of wild beasts populating the forest. The wild beasts referred to by Ps. Oppian in the passage above are those presented at the beginning of book four, namely lions, leopards, and bears. The aim was to give Caracalla ("son of divine Severus") an indication of how to hunt them properly. In commenting on these lines, Whitby has suggested that the presentation of Caracalla as a hunter of wild beasts which we read in the text would recall the iconography of Alexander.[392] I agree with Whitby's suggestion and would like to develop her point further. Palagia has indeed showed that from the time of Alexander, monuments and mosaics depicting the Macedonian as a lion-hunter were produced.[393] Alexander is also depicted hunting large animals such as boars and bears.[394] In the passage, Ps. Oppian is representing Caracalla as a hunter and slayer of these very beasts. This, therefore, would associate the emperor with Alexander. This example would further suggest that Ps. Oppian was following a specific agenda. He seems to have celebrated Caracalla in his work and linked him, at the same time, with cultural memories familiar to the emperor. In this context, therefore, the poet would have also re-interpreted the narrative concerning the mythical times of Seleucid Apamea and highlighted the connection between his own city, Heracles and Alexander. Ps. Oppian was apparently not the only Greek writer to engage with Caracalla through his literary work. Nestor of Laranda presents another example of this tendency. He was a poet from Lycaonia who lived under the Severans. Stephanus informs us that Nestor wrote the *Alexandriad*, an

[391] [Opp.] *Cyn*. 4,16-24.
[392] Whitby (2007), 133-134.
[393] Palagia (2000), 167-206. See also Briant (1993), 267-277; Reilly (1993), 160-162.
[394] Palagia (2000), 167-168; Wootton (2002), 264-274.

epic poem on Alexander the Great.[395] Unfortunately, the poem is lost to us. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that the work aimed at celebrating the emperor Caracalla as Alexander. [396] Provincial cities celebrated Alexander and Heracles on various levels and through different means as the provincial coinage and the works by Ps. Oppian and Nestor show. Within this context, the transmission of the story of Apamea would have allowed Ps. Oppian to emphasise Heracles and Macedonia as part of the city's civic past and identity.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how the story transmitted by Ps. Oppian concerning Heracles and Pella can be read as a Seleucid origin myth. As I have tried to demonstrate in the first part of the chapter, the account might be considered as forming the story of the mythical beginnings of Apamea within a wider Apamean origin myth. I have shown that the image of Heracles in this myth recalls the one in the origin myth of Antioch; in both, the hero played a prominent role in the narratives concerning the mythical times of the Seleucid foundations. Then, I have suggested that the account concerning the Apamean Heracles may have possibly circulated already under Seleucus I. The Seleucid king, as numismatic evidence suggests, seems to have presented the Greek hero within his royal propaganda. Newly discovered mosaics from Apamea, we have then seen, seem to further throw light on these points.

In the second part of the chapter, I have shown how Ps. Oppian, in the third century AD, received and reshaped the account according to his own agenda. The poet, I have argued, re-interpreted the myth and emphasised the image of Heracles as well as the pre-Seleucid name of Apamea in order to engage with the cultural milieu of his own time and to address the emperor Caracalla and his fascination with the Hellenistic period.

[395] St. Byz. s.v. Ὑστάσπαι : Ὑστάσπαι, ἔθνος Περσικόν. Νέστωρ δ′ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Ἀλεξανδριάδος ...
[396] Weiss (1990), 228 n.23; see also Ma (2007), 83-113; esp. 85 and 109.

4. Seleucus I, the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris and the wars of Rome against the Parthians

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris as transmitted by Appian (*Syr*. 58) in the second century AD. Thus far, scholars have studied Appian's passage in order to collect information regarding the activities of Seleucus I in Mesopotamia and the East. I look at the myth from another point of view, namely the reception of themes about the Seleucid past in Roman times. My aim is to understand why Appian, in the Antonine period, engaged in his work with the image of Seleucus I and why the historian resorted to the foundation account of Seleucia on the Tigris. Intriguingly, there seems to be no evidence of this foundation myth apart from the account in Appian.

The foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris is presented by Appian, in his *Syriaca*, as part of an excursus dedicated to Seleucus I (*Syr*. 52-63). This excursus, I argue, has to be read in light of the cultural climate that developed in the Roman world during the wars against the Parthians in the second century AD. From the time of Augustus onwards Roman imperial propaganda drew from Greek cultural memories in order to present its relationship with the Parthian enemy. This resulted in a cultural dialogue between Roman power and the Greek East. I argue that the excursus on Seleucus and the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris represent Appian's response to this climate. In order to show this, in the first part of the chapter, I will set out the historical background and investigate the relationship between the Roman-Parthian wars and Greek shared memories in the second century AD. I will investigate how the image of Alexander now began to play a prominent role within the imperial cultural discourse concerning the Roman-Parthian wars. Cultural memories concerning Alexander the Great were highly employed by Trajan and his successors as propaganda when presenting the wars against the Eastern enemy. The second part of the chapter looks at how the Greek world reacted to this new cultural climate. My focus will be in particular on the second-century AD phenomenon known as Macedonian patriotic fervour in the time of the Successors. I will consider Appian's excursus on Seleucus I and the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris in light of this cultural phenomenon. I argue that the historian reshaped the story concerning the origins of Seleucia on the Tigris as well as episodes concerning Seleucus' conquest of Mesopotamia and the East in order to engage with this cultural climate and offer the second-century AD emperors an alternative model to Alexander the Great.

4.2 Trajan and Lucius Verus: the breakdown of diplomacy in the East and the resurgence of Alexander the Great

When Augustus became emperor, he had to decide which policy to adopt in the relationship between the newly created empire and the Parthians. He recognised a diplomatic and defensive policy as being preferable to hazardous campaign or military intervention across the Euphrates. In Augustus' view, Roman prestige and security were to be preserved through appeasement with Parthia. As a result of Augustus' diplomatic intervention, a formal treaty with Parthia was established, in the first century BC, according to which Rome's territorial interest in Armenia was acknowledged by Parthia, whilst Rome accepted not to have military presence in the area.[397] The Euphrates was recognised as the boundary between Parthian and Roman territories.[398] In 20 BC, the Parthian king Phraates returned the Roman legion standards captured during Crassus' campaign and the hostages taken during the campaign of Antony.[399] This political climate of neutrality established by Augustus and continued by his successors would dominate the relations between Rome and Parthia until the beginning of the second century AD.[400] It ended with Trajan's and Lucius Verus' Eastern campaigns. More than being interested in diplomatic relations and settlements, these emperors sought opportunities for victory and territorial expansion.[401] Ignoring any Parthian attempts at negotiation they presented themselves and the Romans as aggressors against the Parthian enemy. Let us briefly see what this means in practice.

In AD 113 dynastic struggles within the Armenian kingdom had rekindled and demanded the intervention of Rome. The Parthians had presented the new king of Armenia, Parthamasiris, with the royal diadem after deposing Axidartes, the choice sanctioned by Rome. According to the Augustan settlement[402], however, the Parthians would present a king for Armenia from among the Arsacid dynasty, but only Rome would have been allowed to confer the royal diadem on the Arsacid candidate. Parthia in this occasion, therefore, had broken the arrangements. Trajan's reaction to this was far from being conducted in Augustan diplomatic terms. While travelling to Syria in AD 113 he met at Athens with an embassy from Osroes, the king of the Parthians, which advanced some propositions to resolve the issue

[397] Gruen (1996), 159; on the topic, see also Colledge (1967).
[398] Campbell (1993), 224.
[399] Zanker (1988), 185 ff.
[400] Angeli-Bertinelli (1979), 57, Campbell (1993), 229.
[401] Campbell (1993), 234; Cizek (1994), 376 ff.
[402] Cass. D. 68.17-2-3; Bennett (1997), 194.

diplomatically and offered the usual gifts.[403] The Roman emperor, however, refused to accept Parthian propositions and gifts, and did not discuss the matter further. Soon after this event Trajan met the usurper Parthamasiris and the leading Armenian nobility at the Armenian city of Elegea. Instead of being received in the usual civil and cordial environment of this sort of conferences, the Parthian usurper faced Trajan's mistrust and his refusal to confirm him as the king of Armenia.[404] What is more, Trajan declared the annexation of Armenia as a Roman province and immediately appointed a Roman governor; even worse, Parthamasiris, after leaving the meeting with his Roman escort, was killed in uncertain circumstances. These events caused a drastic and complete breakdown of diplomatic relations between Rome and Parthia, and led to the beginning of Trajan's aggressive campaign of conquest against the Eastern enemy. Armenia was immediately wholly occupied and the Roman presence was consolidated by the end of AD 114. According to Bennet's reconstruction of the events following Elegea[405], immediately after receiving the submission of many local satraps of the Pontic area, Trajan prepared his second campaign and, in AD 115, marched towards Mesopotamia. He occupied Nisibis and Edessa, and easily annexed the region.[406] Afterwards, the emperor set forth his third campaign against the Parthian enemy. By building a pontoon bridge over the Tigris he crossed the river. Adiabene was occupied and conquered. Babylon with its powerful Parthian cities of Seleucia on the Tigris, Babylonia, and Ctesiphon was attacked and taken soon after.[407] Trajan consolidated his new territorial acquisitions through the creation of the two provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia.[408] However, immediately after these successes, while he was travelling to Babylon after having set out to the Persian Gulf, a revolt broke out in the territories of Armenia and Mesopotamia against Roman occupation thus jeopardising all the new imperial territorial acquisitions. The emperor immediately dispatched his army against the rebels. Trajan's general recovered Nisibis, and captured and burned Edessa. The same fate overtook Seleucia on the Tigris which was sacked and burnt by a division of the army under the command of two of Trajan's legates. Finally,

[403] Arr. *Parth*. 33; Campbell (1993), 234; Bennett (1997), 194 ff.
[404] For a detailed description of this episode, Dio. 68.19-20 with Bennet (1997), 195-196; Campbell (1993), 235 with discussion on primary sources.
[405] Bennett (1997), 198 with discussion on the dating of these events; Cizek (1983); Lepper (1948). Few inscriptions and coins provide us with the dating of these events. As regards the literary sources, we are mainly dependent on Dio Cassius, as excerpted by Xiphilinus, Arrian's fragments of *Partika*, and few allusions by late fourth-century authors such as Eutropius and Festus. The evidence for this phase of Trajan's campaign are overall scanty and fragmentary.
[406] Arr. *Parth*. 42-48; Cass. D. 68.21; Bennet (1997), 199.
[407] Cass. D. 68.28; Bennett (1997), 201.
[408] Angeli-Bertinelli (1976), 11 ff.; Millar (1993), 111-126; Bennett (1997), 272; Griffin (2000), 125; Edwell (2008); (2013).

the rebel Sanatruces was killed.[409] On the other hand, Trajan failed at the siege of Hatra[410], and therefore in the recovery of Mesopotamia. With the situation being so critical, Trajan restored Armenia and Parthia to client-kings, crowning the son of Osroes as king of Parthia thus losing these territories from Roman control. With the intention of moving against and recovering Mesopotamia in AD 117, he departed for Rome and appointed Hadrian as commander of the army in the eastern territories. Trajan died soon after his departure, in AD 117, before having the chance to return to the East.

When Hadrian became emperor, he reverted to Augustus' diplomatic and defensive policy; in addition, he gave up all of Trajan's conquered territories beyond the Euphrates keeping the Empire within its natural boundaries, as Augustus had established it.[411] For another half century after Hadrian's accession, there was stability in the area and Rome could avoid active intervention in the East. The situation, however, changed again under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. With Lucius Verus' campaign against Parthia there was a reprisal of Trajan's aggressive pattern. The Armenian situation was used, again, as a *casus belli*. In AD 161 the Parthians had made their move against the kingdom of Armenia. The Parthian king entered Armenia and, after having deposed the Armenian king, installed his nominee. After that, the Parthians defeated and killed the Roman governor of Syria in battle .[412] Instead of choosing an Augustean diplomatic way of handling these new issues in the East, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus decided on an aggressive campaign as Trajan had done. Lucius departed for the East in the summer of AD 162 and arrived at Antioch in the winter of the same year. In the meantime, the new Roman governor of Cappadocia guided an army against the Parthians in Armenia. He captured Artaxata, the Armenian capital, in AD 163.[413] While Lucius was in Antioch, he failed to negotiate with Vologases, the king of the Parthians, after the Armenian events. The Parthians had decided to attack Osrhoene and they deposed the pro-Roman king. As a consequence of this, the Roman army entered Osrhoene capturing Nicephorium and Dausara.[414] By the beginning of AD 164, Armenia, now entirely under Roman control, was re-organized: a new capital was built called Kaine Polis, and a new pro-Roman Arsacid prince was installed as king. The Roman army then moved to Mesopotamia, and captured

[409] Cass. D. 68.30-32; Bennett, 1997; Griffin (2000), 125
[410] Hatra is a citadel in Mesopotamia whose population had revolted against Roman domination. Its strategic position between Mesopotamia and Babylon made its possession indispensable for the Romans who were trying to restore their control in the area beyond the Tigris. See Isaac (2009), 23-32; Sommer (2009), 33-44.
[411] Bennett (1997), 203; Edwell (2013), 261.
[412] Davenport and Manley (2014), 155.
[413] Cass. D. 71.3.1; Birley (2000), 162; Birley (2001), 128.
[414] Fronto, *Ad Verum Imp.* 2.1,.22–23; *Princ. Hist*. 14; Birley (2000), 163; Birley (2001), 131.

Edessa and Nisibis in AD 165, while Mannus was reinstalled as king of Osrhoene. Finally, led by the legate Avidius Cassius, the Roman forces moved down the Euphrates. Here, they captured Ctesiphon and sacked and destroyed Seleucia on the Tigris[415]. At this point, the war was considered over and Lucius Verus prepared to return to Italy. Although no new provinces were created, as had happened under Trajan, the campaigns resulted in the defeat of the Parthian enemy and the annexation of few territories beyond the Euphrates. Lucius' choice of an aggressive campaign was therefore successful and showed once again that the Roman Empire could succeed against the Eastern foe.

This new Roman aggressive attitude against the Eastern enemy is reflected in second-century AD Imperial propaganda. Roman ideology drew from Greek cultural memories and symbols to present its new relations with Parthia. While Augustus' defensive policy against the Parthians was compared with Athens' defensive war against Persia, Roman military policy in the East was now presented to the public by resorting to the image of Alexander the Great and the memories of his eastern campaigns against the Persians. As Spawforth has argued, the image of Alexander was now more apt than the Greco-Persian wars motif for framing the Roman aggressive slant over the east[416]. We shall now see how, on the one hand, Trajan and Lucius Verus seem to have compared themselves with Alexander the Great when conducting their campaigns against the Parthian enemy, whilst, on the other hand, imperial literary production responded to this new propaganda by re-evaluating and emphasising the image of Alexander the Great.

According to a passage from Cassius Dio, Trajan saw himself as a new Alexander when he approached the Persian Gulf and the Ocean in the final part of his Parthian campaign:

> κἀντεῦθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθών, τήν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καταμαθὼν καὶ πλοῖόν τι ἐς Ἰνδίαν πλέον ἰδών, εἶπεν ὅτι 'πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς, εἰ νέος ἔτι ἦν, ἐπεραιώθην.' Ἰνδούς τε γὰρ ἐνενόει, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα ἐπολυπραγμόνει, τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμακάριζε. καίτοι ἔλεγε καὶ ἐκείνου περαιτέρω προκεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλε, μὴ δυνηθεὶς μηδὲ ἃ ἐκεχείρωτο σῶσαι.
>
> Then he came to the ocean itself, and when he had learned its nature and had seen a ship sailing to India, he said: "I should certainly have crossed over to the Indi, too, if I were still young." For he began to think about the Indi and was curious about their affairs, and he counted Alexander a lucky man. Yet he would declare that he himself had advanced farther than

[415] *Hist. Aug. Verus* 8.3-4; Birley (2000), 163; Birley (2001), 140.
[416] Spawforth (1994), 219.

> Alexander, and would so write to the senate, although he was unable to preserve even the territory that he had subdued.[417]

It seems clear that, according to Dio, Trajan wished to emulate Alexander and was comparing himself with him. We will come back to this passage later in the chapter and see how Appian is engaging with this very episode when presenting Seleucus in his work. Cassius Dio provides us with another example of Trajan's tendency:

> μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθε κατά τε τὴν φήμην, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄξιον εἶδεν ὅ τι μὴ χώματα καὶ λίθους καὶ ἐρείπια, καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾧ καὶ ἐνήγισεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι ἐν ᾧ ἐτετελευτήκει).
>
> Trajan learned of this (revolt) at Babylon; (for he had gone there both because of its fame — though he saw nothing but mounds and stones and ruins to justify this — and because of Alexander, to whose spirit he offered sacrifice in the room where he had died).[418]

Again, here, it is made clear that Trajan had high esteem for Alexander the Great and was comparing himself with him. Similarly to Alexander, Trajan conducted an aggressive campaign in the East in order to defeat the Persian enemy.

Literary works produced in this period supported this new imperial propaganda towards the Parthians. In the second century AD, an unprecedented literary production concerning Alexander the Great flourished in the Roman world. Different genres, from philosophical works to pieces of rhetoric from authors of the Second Sophistic, emphasised the image of Alexander, focusing on the various facets of his personality. The aim was to re-evaluate at large the image of the Macedonian conqueror who had been perceived, in the previous two centuries, with ambiguity by the Romans. It is likely that Trajan and Lucius Verus' new military campaigns and successes in the East influenced this new Roman positive attitude toward Alexander. Among these literary works, I will show how Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, which focuses on Alexander's victory over the Persian empire and his conquest of the East, can be specifically considered as a work written in order to acknowledge and support the emperors' new aggressive policy in the East and their imitation of Alexander. Appian, we shall see, would engage with the representation of Alexander as the conqueror of the East as sketched by Arrian.

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[417] Cass. D. 68.29.1-2.
[418] Cass. D. 68.30.1.

Before focusing on Arrian's *Anabasis*, I will very briefly discuss how the image of Alexander changed in terms of public opinion and within the literary production from the first century BC to the second century AD.[419] This will help us put the *Anabasis* as well as Appian's work into context. From the late Republic onwards, there was ambiguity in the Roman attitude towards Alexander the Great. Politicians and emperors demonstrated personal interest and curiosity in Alexander. Augustus, for example, used to have the image of Alexander as his seal[420] and, according to Suetonius, he visited Alexander's sarcophagus when in Alexandria[421]; another example is Nero who named one of his legions after Alexander's phalanx.[422] However, in terms of general public reception, Alexander was highly criticised. Literary works produced in this period frequently portrayed Alexander in a bad light, accusing him of lust for power and of having an immoral character.[423] He was criticised by historians as well as by philosophers of this time. Livy, for example, in a well-known passage from book 9 of his *Ab Urbe Condita* portrays Alexander the Great as a man who gave way to the temptation of success and power.[424] On the philosophical side, Peripatetic and Stoic writers emphasised the weaknesses in Alexander's character, such as his drunkenness, uncontrolled anger and post-victory deterioration.[425] As regards Alexander's military skills, although these were acknowledged in literary sources of this time, his territorial conquests and eastern campaigns were not seen as synonyms of greatness but of excessive ambition. Seneca, for example, considered Alexander's great conquests of the East "as evidence of an insatiable lust for glory" .[426] Alexander was shamed for his eagerness to expand in the East. In other words, Alexander's deeds in the East, instead of being remembered and praised as a victory over the Persian enemy, were portrayed as a proof of Alexander's aspiration to universal power and therefore presented as negative.

In the second century AD, this negative attitude towards Alexander changed. As said above, Trajan's new aggressive policy in the East followed by Lucius Verus' successes against the Parthians may have influenced this. As Millar has argued, the importance and attention given

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[419] For a complete and detailed discussion on this topic see in particular Ceausescu (1974) with bibliography.
[420] Suet. *Aug*. 50; see also Wardman (1976), 96.
[421] Suet. *Aug*. 18; Spawforth (2006), 20.
[422] Suet. *Ner*. 19; see also Warminghton (1969), 98-99; Wardman (1976), 96; Placido (1990).
[423] Wardman (1976), 96; Pellegrino (1990) for Augustean writers.
[424] Liv. 9.16-18; Wardman (1976), 96; Zecchini (1984) 102; according to Smith (2006), 429: "it was probably a remark of Timagenes that prompted Livy's excursus denying the claim that Alexander the Great, if he had looked West, would have overwhelmed Rome". See also Gabba (1991), 192.
[425] Fears (1974); Wardman (1976), 97; Whitmarsh (2002), 175.
[426] Sen. *Luc*. 91.17; 94.62; 119.7; Wardman (1976), 99.

by the Romans to the Eastern frontiers was highly influenced by the memory of Alexander[427]. According to Zecchini, because of Crassus' defeat at Charrae and Augustus' refusal to avenge the defeat by means of a war of conquest, the Romans could not compare themselves with Alexander. The latter fought against the Persian enemy, won, and then conquered the Eastern territories, while the Romans of the time of Augustus avoided claiming the territories from the Parthians preferring diplomacy to war. Livy himself, in the passage mentioned above, recalls that the Greeks, whom he defines as worthless, enjoyed claiming that "the Roman people would have been unable to withstand the majesty of Alexander".[428] As a result, also "a dissident edge in Eastern memories of Alexander" [429] developed among the public opinion in the late first century BC. Although Trajan's campaign in the East did not achieve much, the emperor's expedition was one of the most successful since that of Alexander the Great. Thanks to Trajan's and Lucius Verus' successes in the East, Rome could now compete with Alexander the Great's fame and could finally claim itself as the heir to Alexander. This had huge resonance in the Roman world. A Roman cultural appropriation of the image of Alexander was thus possible, and Roman public opinion now presented Alexander as a precursor to the Romans and as an example for the Emperors to imitate.[430] Greek literary production that in the previous two centuries had shyly defended Alexander from accusations (such as the work of Timagenes), flourished in the second century AD praising him on different levels according to the new Roman cultural climate. On a more philosophical level, a clear example of this new attitude towards Alexander is provided by rhetors belonging to the so-called Second Sophistic, such as Dio of Prusa. In his four orations on kingship (*Or*.1-4) dedicated to Trajan,[431] the image of Alexander as a monarch is praised. In these works, all the previous criticism of Alexander, which accused him of being a tyrant, has been nuanced and Dio presents Alexander as the ideal monarch and a good model for Trajan to follow.[432] Another example of this new positive attitude towards Alexander can be found in Plutarch's works. In his *Life of Alexander* Plutarch tried to defend Alexander from the previous accusations of drunkenness, aspiration to divinisation, and lust for luxury made by stoicising writers.[433] Although Plutarch did not deny Alexander's excessiveness as it was pointed out by

[427] Millar (1969), 13.
[428] Liv. 9.18.7; see also Bowersock (1969), 109; Spencer (2002), 41-45; Spawforth (2006), 21.
[429] Spawforth (2006), 21.
[430] Zecchini (1984).
[431] For a discussion on the orations see Moles (1983a).
[432] Spawforth (2006), 23.
[433] Hamilton (1999), lxvii ff.

the Stoic philosophers, he nuanced it and emphasised instead Alexander's positive characteristics and skills.

With regard to the image of Alexander as a military man, Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*,[434] which focuses on Alexander's campaigns in the East, throws a new positive light on Alexander's military achievements and depicts him as a great conqueror of the East. I argue that this work can be linked to Trajan's new imitation of Alexander in his eastern campaigns. In this work, probably written under Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius,[435] Arrian highlights the greatness of Alexander's campaigns with the aim, I argue, of defending him from the previous accusations of unrestrained ambitions of power and presenting him as a good model to imitate. Arrian's *Anabasis* is clearly not a work written by one nostalgic for the Greek past who fancies antiquarianism, but, as Carlsen argued, it "reflects a literary response to Roman power"[436]. In other words, Arrian, through his work, interacts with the Roman audience of his time and with the Roman Imperial propaganda concerning the East. Although neither Trajan nor Lucius Verus are named in the text, Arrian makes various references to the Roman Empire of his own time and to the Roman-Parthian wars. One passage in particular, as various scholars have noted, clearly reminds the reader of Trajan's expedition against the Parthians in AD 116:[437]

> […] δοκεῖ δ᾽ ἔμοιγε πλοίοις μᾶλλον ζευχθῆναι: οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξασθαι γέφυραν τὸ βάθος τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐν τοσῷδε χρόνῳ ἔργον οὕτως ἄτοπον ξυντελεσθῆναι. εἰ δὲ δὴ πλοίοις ἐζεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ξυντεθεῖσαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὁρμισθεῖσαι ἐς τὸ ζεῦγμα ἀπήρκεσαν, ὡς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ζευχθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἢ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴστρῳ ποταμῷ ζεῦγμα ποιεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα, ὁσάκις κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη, ἐγεφύρωσαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ξυμβαλεῖν. καίτοι ταχυτάτη γε ὢν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ γεφύρωσις ἡ διὰ τῶν νεῶν γίγνεται, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀφηγήσομαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτι λόγου ἀξία.
>
> […] To me it seems probable that the bridge was made of boats; for the depth of the water would not have admitted of the construction of a regular bridge, nor could so enormous a work have been completed in so short a time. If the passage was bridged with boats, I cannot decide whether the vessels being fastened together with ropes and moored in a row were sufficient to form the bridge, as Herodotus the Halicarnassian says the Hellespont was bridged, or whether

[434] For information on Arrian's life see Stadter (1980); Schepens (1971).
[435] Carlsen (2014), 213; see Carlsen (2014), 21 ff. with bibliography for the discussion concerning the dating of Arrian's *Anabasis*.
[436] Carlsen (2014), 210.
[437] Lepper (1948), 10-11; 209-210; Bowsworth (1995), 254-259; Carlsen (2014), 214.

the work was effected in the way in which the bridge upon the Ister and that upon the Celtic Rhine are made by the Romans, and in the way in which they bridged the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as necessity compelled them. However, as I know myself, the Romans find the quickest way of making a bridge to be with vessels; and this method I shall on the present occasion explain, because it is worth describing. […][438]

This passage is part of a digression in which Arrian analyses various methods of bridging rivers with the purpose of understanding how Alexander would have crossed the Indus. The passage recalls an episode concerning Trajan's campaign, when the Emperor had built a bridge of boats to cross the Euphrates. This is confirmed by a passage from Cassius Dio which transmits a fragment of Arrian's *Parthica*. Here Trajan is explicitly mentioned:

Τραϊανὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὸ τὸ ἔαρ ἠπείχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ χώρα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι ἄφορος ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων ἐστί, τὰ πλοῖα, ἃ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐπεποίητο, ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἤγαγεν ἐφ᾽ ἁμάξαις: οὕτω γάρ πως κατεσκεύαστο ὥστε διαλύεσθαι καὶ συμπήγνυσθαι. καὶ ἔζευξεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ Καρδύηνον ὄρος ἐπιπονώτατα: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἀντικαταστάντες ἐκώλυον. ἀλλ᾽ ἦν γὰρ πολλῇ τῷ Τραϊανῷ καὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν περιουσία, αἱ μὲν ἐζεύγνυντο πολλῷ τάχει, αἱ δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων ἀνεκώχευον ὁπλίτας τε καὶ τοξότας φέρουσαι, ἕτεραι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὡς διαβησόμεναι ἐπείρων. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ τοσαύτας ἅμα ναῦς ἀθρόας ἐξ ἠπείρου ἀξύλου ἀναφανῆναι ἐνέδοσαν οἱ βάρβαροι. καὶ ἐπεραιώθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τήν τε Ἀδιαβηνὴν.

Trajan at the beginning of spring hastened into the enemy's country. And since the region near the Tigris is bare of timber suitable for building ships, he brought his boats, which had been constructed in the forests around Nisibis, to the river on waggons; for they had been built in such a way that they could be taken apart and put together again. He had great difficulty in bridging the stream opposite the Gordyaean mountains, as the barbarians had taken their stand on the opposite bank and tried to hinder him. But Trajan had a great abundance of both ships and soldiers, and so some vessels were fastened together with great speed while others lay moored in front of them having heavy infantry and archers board, and still others kept making dashes this way and that, as if they intended to cross. In consequence of these tactics and because of their very consternation at seeing so many ships appear all at once out of a land

[438] Arr. *An*. 5.7.1-5 (All the texts in this chapter are transl. by Brunt 1976).

destitute of trees, the barbarians gave way. And the Romans crossed over and gained possession of the whole of Adiabene. [439]

This passage shows how Arrian in the *Anabasis* was probably referring to Trajan when he mentions the Romans. As regards the passage from the *Anabasis*, it seems that Arrian's aim was to create a connection between Alexander's times and Trajan's expedition to the East. By referring to Trajan's episode, Arrian reminds his audience that the Romans, like Alexander, went as far as the Tigris and Euphrates; that they had crossed the rivers and subjugated the surrounding lands. The *Anabasis* is in some ways, therefore, linked to the historical events of Arrian's own time and with the new Roman appropriation of the East and supports this imperial propaganda concerning Alexander. According to Buraselis: "it is no mere coincidence that Arrian's *Anabasis* was written in the Antonine period".[440] The fact that Arrian's *Anabasis* echoes, although indirectly, the emperors' new propaganda toward the East, can be further demonstrated by looking at the other substantial historical work written by Arrian, namely the *Parthica*. This work narrates Trajan's campaigns against the Parthians. If we consider the *Anabasis* and *Parthica* together, we may throw light on Arrian possible intentions. On the one hand, in the *Anabasis*, the historian describes Alexander's endeavour in the East; on the other hand, with the *Parthica*, Arrian described Trajan's expedition to the East. By writing these two works, Appian would have compared past with present, Greek memories with Roman Empire, Alexander with Trajan and his propaganda.[441] The *Anabasis* therefore seems to have been written to emphasise and support Trajan's aggressive propaganda toward the East. Arrian re-evaluated the image of Alexander as a conqueror and presented it as a model to be imitated.

That writers of the Roman-Parthian wars recalled the memory of Alexander the Great and his Eastern expedition against the Persians in the second century AD is also shown by the literary production that flourished under Lucius Verus. I am referring in particular to Polyaenus' *Stratagems*[442]. Polyaenus lived under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and he is the author of an eight-volume handbook of military stratagems.[443] Polyaenus addressed this work to Lucius Verus on the occasion of his war against the Parthians. Although, in the *Stratagems*, there is no direct comparison between Lucius Verus and Alexander, it seems that the author,

[439] Cass. D. 68.26.1-3 = Arr. *Parth*. F 57.
[440] Buraselis (1995), 219; see also Zecchini (1984), 206, who argued that: "L'affinita' di Alessandro con gli imperatori Romani e' motivo di esaltazione per lo storico bitinico".
[441] Unfortunately, the *Parthica* is very fragmentary. See Lepper (1948), for a translation.
[442] Buraselis (1995), 126.
[443] For more information on Polyaenus see Schettino (1998).

while discussing the emperor's imminent departure for the East, recalls the memory of the war Alexander fought against the Persians. This is how Polyaenus introduces his work:

> Τὴν μὲν κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων νίκην, ἱερώτατοι βασιλεῖς Ἀντωνῖνε καὶ Οὐῆρε, παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἕξετε καὶ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρείας, μεθ' ὧν ἀεὶ, καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν εἰώθατε νικᾶν τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολέμους καὶ μάχας· ἐγὼ δὲ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ, πάτριον ἔχων τὸ κρατεῖν Περσῶν πολεμούντων δύνασθαι […].
>
> The gods, your own virtue, and the Roman bravery, that have always before crowned with victory the arms of your sacred majesties, Antoninus and Verus, will also now attend with success the expedition which you have undertaken against Persia and the Parthians. I, who am by birth a Macedonian, have therefore a national right to victory over the Persians […].[444]

The passage shows how the Parthians were perceived, and presented, as Persians. In addition, Polyaenus seems to link implicitly Lucius Verus' Parthian campaign to Alexander's endeavour in the East. This is another example that shows how in the second century AD Greek writers perceive and support Roman imperial propaganda in the East by recalling memories from the Greek cultural heritage and in particular the image of Alexander the Great. We will come back to Polyaenus and his work later in the chapter.

This attention paid by the Roman power to Alexander in the second century AD and mirrored by Greek literary production of the time had a wider impact on the Greek world of the Roman East and influenced, in particular, a part of the Greek-speaking world, which ethnically identified itself as Macedonian. This group responded to the new Alexander-mania by recalling and emphasising memories of the time of the Successors. The next section will focus on this phenomenon, which gained momentum under the Antonines. We will also see how this Macedonian patriotic fervour engaged with the Roman propaganda concerning the Roman-Parthian wars. Appian, I argue, can be considered as an exponent of this Macedonian phenomenon.

4.3 Macedonian patriotism and the times of the Successors in the age of the Antonines

Greek writers of the Roman Empire, such as Diodorus Siculus, define the Hellenistic period as *Makedonikoi chronoi*, the Macedonian times.[445] We have seen how Alexander the Great was considered by the Roman power and presented by the imperial Greek writers, such as Dio of Prusa and Arrian, as the most influential figure of the Macedonian times. The same

[444] Polyaen. 1.1 (All the translations of Polyaenus' text in this chapter are from Shepherd 1793).
[445] Spawforth (2006), 1.

attention was never given to Alexander's Successors.[446] I am referring, in particular, to the Seleucids and the Ptolemies who inherited the territories conquered by Alexander and created large empires which dominated Egypt and the East for many centuries before the arrival of Rome in the area. We do find these kings mentioned at times in the works of second-century AD Greek imperial writers, but the evidence is usually very scanty. Regarding Seleucus I, for example, Arrian mentions him only once in his *Anabasis*[447], while Pausanias the Perigete dedicates only a few passages of his work to him.[448] Apart from these sporadic mentions neither the Roman power nor Greek imperial writers of the second century AD were attracted by the Successors as they were by Alexander[449]. In fact, Asirvatham has demonstrated that Aelius Aristides recognises Alexander's greatness[450], but, in his *Panathenaicus*, he shows no interest in claiming Macedonian origins and writes: "no one would be proud to have Pella or Aegae as his country […]".[451] Similarly, Menander Rhetor, who lived between the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century AD, praises Alexander among the founders of a city while the other kings are usually rated very low as givers of civic nobility.[452] Therefore, in the dialogue between Roman power and Greek imperial writers, there was no particular interest in presenting the Successors as examples to imitate.

Although Roman power and imperial Greek writers were more focused on Alexander the Great, memories of the Macedonian times of the Successors were, nonetheless, still alive and in this very period began to be very much emphasised as a response to this cultural climate. Civic traditions and Greek-speaking writers who defined themselves as belonging to Macedonian ethnicity are the main agencies claiming and transmitting these memories in the second century AD. As regards civic traditions, cities founded in the Hellenistic period in Syria and in Egypt now emphasised their Macedonian founders. Among the Seleucid cities in Roman Syria, for example, Antioch particularly emphasised in this very period its foundation by Seleucus I. As I have shown in the second chapter of this work, the city minted coinage recalling its Seleucid ancestry and foundation accounts claiming Seleucus I as a founder were elaborated in the time of Hadrian. In Laodicea by the Sea, the Macedonian urban elite kept memories of Seleucus I alive. An inscription dated AD 164 records a Julia Berenice, "the

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[446] Spawforth (2006), 16.
[447] Arr. *An*. 7.22.5 where Seleucus I is described as "the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander".
[448] For example, Paus. 1.16.3 describes the Seleucid king as "one of the most religious and righteous of kings"; see also Paus. 1.6-10.; Primo (2009), 253.
[449] Swain (1996), 252 ff.
[450] Asirvatham (2008), 207 ff.
[451] Aristid. *Or*. 1.334.
[452] Men. Rhet. 353.17-18; Spawforth (2006), 15.

descendent of Seleucus I Nicator", and her election to priestess of a cult in honour of the Macedonian king.[453] Other evidence of Seleucid memories comes from Dura-Europus. The relief of the Gad of Dura, dated AD 159, clearly praises Seleucus I as the founder of the city.[454] Although it is likely that Seleucus I had received civic attention and praise since the time of the foundation of these cities, evidence demonstrates that in the second century AD this patriotism toward the Seleucid king was particularly emphasised. Similar examples can be found in cities founded by the Ptolemies in Egypt. Here, memories of the Ptolemaic kings were very much alive in the second century AD. For example, an inscription from the city Ptolemias praises Ptolemy I as the city founder[455], while two papyri dating to AD 47 and AD 160 emphasise the presence of a cult of Ptolemy I in the city of Ptolemais in the Tebaid (Upper Egypt).[456] All these examples show, therefore, that, although the memory of Alexander played a prominent role in the dialogue between Greek imperial writers and Roman power, at a civic level, the Macedonian elite of these cities was very proud of its Seleucid or Ptolemaic past.

Not only did Hellenistic cities in the second century AD claim their Macedonian ancestry, but also Greek-speaking writers who defined themselves as 'Macedonian' expressed, in this very period, their patriotic fervour for the Successor kings. Appian offers a clear example of this. The historian, born in Egyptian Alexandria, had moved to Rome in AD 120 and had started a career as an advocate under Antoninus Pius.[457] Although Alexander is praised in his *Roman History*, Appian also clearly emphasises his patriotism towards the Ptolemies. The historian frequently mentions the Ptolemaic kings in the text, and he proudly refers to them as to the kings of his country.[458] Appian also shows loyalty and patriotism towards their Egyptian kingdom. Even after moving to Rome, the Macedonian Alexandria remains, for Appian, his "fatherland" and its inhabitants received much praise from him.[459] On a more general level, in various parts of his work there is a clear distinction between Macedonians and Greeks.[460] In other words, as Spawforth has argued, being Macedonian for Appian "was different and very

[453] *IGLS*, IV 1262 with Cohen (1996).
[454] Rostovtzeff (1939), 286 ff. For a further discussion on this evidence see ch. 6.
[455] *SEG* 20.665 with Fraser (1959-60), 123-33; Bernand (1992), 140-43; Spawforth (2006), 12.
[456] Spawforth (2006), 12.
[457] Swain (1996).
[458] App. *Praef*. 10. For Alexander, see in particular *Civil Wars* 2.149-154, where Appian dedicates an excursus to him.
[459] App. *Praef*. 15; App. *Praef*. 10; App. *BC* 1.5; *ibid*. 1.102.
[460] App. *Syr*.2: "for the affairs of the Macedonians and of the Greeks were closely linked together at certain times and places, as I have shown in my Greek history"; see also App. *Syr*.57; *Mithrid*. 41.

definitely a source of pride".[461] We will see how Appian also shows patriotic fervour towards the Seleucids.

Appian also features, along with the Macedonian Polyaenus, among those Greco-Macedonian writers who engaged with the Roman power in the cultural climate during the Roman-Parthian wars. I will now show how they both claimed memories of the Successors and linked them to the Roman presence in the East. Their aim was not to present the Successors in opposition to the image of Alexander as elaborated by the imperial Greek writers and Roman imperial propaganda. Alexander was a Greco-Macedonian himself, and these authors recognise him as such and praise him in their works. Rather, I argue, they wanted to offer the Roman power other examples of valuable kings from the Hellenistic world who engaged with the Eastern foe before the arrival of the Romans. In what follows, I will firstly look at Polyaenus and focus on how, in his work, he stresses the military skills of the Successors; then, I will focus on Appian's *Syriaca* and argue that he reshaped stories concerning Seleucus' conquest of the East and elaborated an image of Seleucus according to this specific agenda.

In the previous section I have shown how Polyaenus discusses Lucius Verus' war in the East by hinting at the memories of Alexander the Great's campaign against the Persians. My focus now will be on the attention that Polyaenus dedicates to the Macedonian Successors. The main aim of his *Stratagems* is to provide the emperor with examples of various techniques of war from the past. The first six books focus on the stratagems of the most celebrated Greek generals (mythological warriors who are treated in the first two books, Spartans, Thebans, Athenians, Macedonians), the seventh on stratagems of foreign people, and the last book contains stratagems of the Romans and of women. It is interesting to note that Polyaenus stresses Greek military history more than Roman. For example, he does not give information on the Roman imperial legions. His work can, therefore, be considered Hellenocentric. Although, in the *Stratagems*, Polyaenus refers to various chronological periods, such as the Archaic and Classical periods, and to themes which were central to the main cultural stream of the second century AD,[462] his emphasis towards the Macedonian times of the Successors is highly distinguishable.[463] In the preface to book one, he presents himself as proud of his Macedonian ethnicity:

[461] Swain (1996), 252; see also Spawforth (2006), 11.
[462] Morton (2010), 109 ff.
[463] Pretzler (2010), 94.

[…] ἐγὼ δὲ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ, […] ἀλλ', εἰ μὲν ἤκμαζέ μοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ στρατιώτης πρόθυμος ἂν ἐγενόμην Μακεδονικῇ ῥώμῃ χρώμενος.

[…] I, who am by birth a Macedonian, […] and if my constitution were as robust and hale as it used to be, you should not lack in me convincing proof of the Macedonian spirit.[464]

Here his Macedonian patriotism is definitely straightforward; this also emerges in book four of his work, where numerous war stratagems of Macedonian generals and kings are collected. While Alexander, of course, plays a relevant role and three chapters of the book are focused on explaining his war techniques (4.1-3), the Successors received equal or probably even superior attention; fifteenth chapters of the book were dedicated to them (4.4-21). Among the Successors, the Seleucids are the most prominent, although the Antigonids and the Ptolemies are mentioned as well. Polyaenus, therefore, acknowledges and emphasises Alexander as a valuable example for Lucius Verus to follow in his campaign in the East, according to the main cultural tendency of the second century AD. Yet he stresses the importance of the other Macedonian kings, such as Seleucus I or Ptolemy, and clearly presents them as possible models for the emperor to imitate. This particular emphasis by Polyaenus on the time of the Successors is also noted by Buraselis who argues that the Macedonian Hellenistic kingdoms presented within Polyaenus' work "built up one of the main historical groups of the evidence compiled, covering not only the fourth but also parts of the other books as well" .[465] Similarly, Pretzler, while discussing Polyaenus' contribution to the second-century AD cultural climate, argues: "Polyaenus' Macedonian persona… also seems to have prompted a greater focus on Alexander's Successors and the Hellenistic period".[466]

The second 'Macedonian' author who engages with the Roman power during the Roman-Parthian wars by presenting memories of the Successors is Appian. In the next section I argue that the image of Seleucus elaborated by Appian in his excursus within the *Syriaca* (*Syr*. 52-63) has to be linked to the historical events in the time of Appian, namely the Roman wars against the Parthians. Appian, I posit, reshaped memories of Seleucus' conquest of Mesopotamia as well as memories concerning his foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris in order to offer a valuable example for Lucius Verus to follow during his campaign against the Parthians.

[464] Polyaen. 1.1.
[465] Buraselis (1995), 129 ff.
[466] Pretzler (2010), 94.

4.4 Seleucus I and the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris in Appian's *Syriaca*

As we have seen in the previous section Appian pays particular attention to the time of the Successors. He praises the Ptolemaic kings and claimes his Alexandrian origins. It is interesting to note that the Seleucids also received attention in his *Roman History* and are presented in a good light. In his *Preface* to the *Roman History*, Appian already seems to acknowledge the greatness of Alexander's Diadochi, although he also criticises the continuous wars pursued by the Successors against each other:

> ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει […] ἥς γε καὶ διαλυθείσης ἐς πολλὰς σατραπείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέλαμπε τὰ μέρη. […] φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἀποδέοντα. ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη, στασιασάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους […].
>
> The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude […] Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. […] It appears that many of the other satrapies were not much inferior in these respects. Yet all these resources were wasted under their successors by warring with each other […].[467]

In this passage, Appian is discussing the empire of Alexander and the Successors. The Ptolemies are widely mentioned. It is clear that 'Other satrapies' which 'war each other' refers to the Seleucid Empire. In another passage from the *Syriaca*, Appian sympathises with the Seleucids when discussing the conquest of Syria by the Romans:

> Πομπήιος δέ, ὁ ἐπὶ Λευκόλλῳ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελών, Τιγράνῃ μὲν Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν, Ἀντίοχον δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἁμαρτόντα, ἔργῳ μέν, ὅτι ἦν εὔκολον αὐτῷ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι πολλήν, ἀρχὴν ἄνοπλον ἀφελέσθαι, λόγῳ δέ, ὅτι τοὺς Σελευκίδας, ὑπὸ Τιγράνους ἐκπεσόντας, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι Συρίας ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίους, Τιγράνην νενικηκότας. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Κιλικίας τε καὶ Συρίας τῆς τε μεσογαίου καὶ Κοίλης καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Συρίας ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ἀμαχεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον.
>
> But Pompey, the successor of Lucullus, when he had overthrown Mithridates, allowed Tigranes to reign in Armenia and expelled Antiochus from the government of Syria, although he had done the Romans no wrong. The real reason for this was that it was easy for Pompey, with an army under his command, to capture an unarmed kingdom, but the pretence was that it was unseemly for the Seleucids, whom Tigranes had dethroned, to govern Syria, rather than the

[467] App. *Praef.* 10 (All the translations of Appian's text in this chapter are from White 1912-1913, unless otherwise specified).

> Romans who had conquered Tigranes. In this way the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia and both inland Syria and Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea.[468]

In the passage, Appian seems to question the actions of Pompey against the Seleucid empire. Before looking in detail at the excursus on Seleucus I and the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris, I will, firstly, provide some information on Appian's *Roman History* and the *Syriaca*, namely the eleventh book of the Roman *Histories*, which contains the excursus. I will explore in particular the dating of these works. This would be particularly relevant when discussing the *Syriaca* within the cultural climate of the second century AD. Secondly, I will briefly summarise the recent scholarly debate that has re-evaluated Appian as a historian. Let us start with my first point. In the last decade, scholars focused on the details concerning the dating of Appian's *Roman History*. Bucher's thorough analysis of Appian's books brought to light interesting conclusions on the date of composition of the work, which are now widely accepted by Appian scholarship.[469] According to Bucher, the *Roman History* was probably composed between AD 148 and AD 166. Šašel Kos went further arguing that the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of Appian's work could very much be "the outbreak of the Parthian war in AD 165, as Appian still considered the Euphrates to be the frontier of the Empire".[470] According to this dating, it would seem that the work of Appian was written after Trajan's Parthian campaign and before or immediately after Lucius' war in the East. As regards the composition date of the *Syriaca* it has, moreover, been noted that this work does not appear among the books listed by Appian in his *Preface* to the *Roman History.*[471] According to Bucher, this is probably due to the fact that when Appian composed the *Preface*, which antedated the composition of all the other books, he only had a preliminary idea of the nations he would write about. This would suggest that the *Syriaca* was probably composed in a date closer to AD 165 rather than to AD 148.[472] In other words, the *Syriaca* would have been composed on a date close to Lucius Verus' campaign against the Parthians. In any case, it is not fundamental to my argument to know the exact date of composition of either the *Roman History* or the *Syriaca*. What is relevant to me is the fact that these books were surely written after Trajan's Parthian war (114-116 AD) and before or around the time of Verus'

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[468] App. *Syr*. 49-50.
[469] For a full discussion on this topic see Bucher (2000), 415-428 and more recently Šašel Kos (2005).
[470]Šašel Kos (2005), 52.
[471] App. *Praef*. 14: "The rest will be named according to its subject, the Celtic, Sicilian, Spanish, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian, and so on".
[472] Brodersen (1993), 353. Check it with Bucher (2000), 415-429; Goukowsky (2007), vii. According to Goukowsky the book was surely written after the foundation of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian in AD 135.

campaign against the Parthians. The chronology of these works would, therefore, allow us to link the *Syriaca* and the excursus on Seleucus I and the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris to the second-century AD cultural climate concerning Lucius Verus' Roman-Parthian wars. On the other hand, the fact that, according to Appian, a book on Trajan's Parthian wars (*Parthica*) should have followed the *Syriaca*, as an appendix, would further support the idea that the *Syriaca* and the excursus on Seleucus may have been written around the time of the outbreak of Lucius Verus' Parthian wars.[473]

As regards Appian's validity as a writer and historian, it is only recently that scholarship has changed its opinion about the tenor of Appian's work. Previous scholarship, led by Gabba and mainly focusing on *Quellenforschung*, dismissed Appian as a mere compiler who did little more than translate from other sources.[474] His work was considered derivative and a plain reproduction of his sources. In the last two decades, however, various works have been published which have overturned this negative view.[475] According to Gowing, rather than simply reproducing his sources, or choosing them unwittingly and uncritically, Appian was capable of organising them in order to compose "an account that conveyed what he wished to convey".[476] As Bucher argued, he made use of a variety of sources and "he was intellectually involved in every part of his work".[477] Both Gowing and Bucher agree with Moles, then, in defining Appian as a "skilled literary artist"[478] and in arguing that he made a significant literary intervention in his *Roman Histories.*[479] For all these reasons, Appian's work has to be read in the light of the second-century AD historical and cultural background, and, as Hekster and Kaizer have shown, considered as a product influenced by contemporary opinions and events.[480] Appian's presentation of past historical events, and his perception of them, is influenced by the historical background in which he lived. I will apply this new approach to the account on Seleucus I in Asia and the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris, and I will show that Appian seems to have revised his material and elaborated a specific image of Seleucus in order to engage actively with the Roman imperial propaganda of his own time.

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[473]App. *Syr*. 260; *BC* 2.18.67, 5.65.276; Šašel Kos (2005).
[474] Gabba (1967), 123 describes the *Civil Wars* as a "Fedele riassunto che sia avvicina spesso ad una traduzione, e questa e' in alcuni casi volutamente letterale"; see also Bucher (1997), 158 for further comments.
[475] See, for example, Hahn (1964); (1970); (1982); Brodersen (1989); Magnino (1993); Gowing (1992); Bucher (1997); (2000); (2005); and recently Rich (2015).
[476] Gowing (1992), 274 ff.
[477] Bucher (2005), 51 n. 6.
[478] Moles (1987), 124 ff.; Gowing (1990), 158.
[479] See Gowing (1990) and Bucher (2005); and Moles (1983), 249-256. Rich (2015), in addition, has explored how Appian engages with his sources, in particular with Polybius, in the first part of the *Syriaca* (*Syr*. 1-44), where he deals with the image of Antiochus III. For a detailed discussion on this point see the Excursus.
[480] Hekster and Kaizer (2004), 80.

Let us now, at last, focus in detail on the content of the *Syriaca* and more specifically on the excursus concerning Seleucus and the East (*Syr*. 52-63). This belongs to the second section of the *Syriaca* (i.e. *Syr*. 45-70), which follows the narrative of the war between Antiochus III and the Romans (*Syr*. 1-45); chapters 45-70 focus on the history of the Seleucid Empire and kings. The first three chapters of the section (ch. 45-47) are dedicated to Antiochus the Great's successors, while chapters 48-51 narrate the invasion of Syria by Tigranes and the following Roman acquisition of it. The final chapters of the section (ch. 64-70) narrate the events from the end of Seleucus I's reign to Antiochus IV. Appian, I argue, arranges his sources and material in the excursus in order to emphasise particularly Seleucus I's conquest of Mesopotamia and the East. The aim was to remind his audience how Seleucus, similarly to Alexander, had won against the Eastern enemy and conquered those territories under Parthian control that the Romans were now trying to annex to the Empire. Appian showed the Roman power how Seleucus also , one of the Successors, may be as valuable an example to follow as Alexander himself. I suggest that the inclusion of the story concerning the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris, which was the most prominent Greek city of the Parthian empire in the time of Appian,[481] would have made his argument more effective. In order to demonstrate this, I will, first, focus on Appian's geographical conception of Roman borders, Asia and the Seleucid Empire. While Appian describes the Seleucid Empire and its kings according to the general Roman definition of it, namely the *Syrian* empire and the *Syrian* kings, when introducing Seleucus I, he focuses on *Asia* and stresses Seleucus' kingship over Babylon and Mesopotamia. Secondly, I will focus on the prophecies Seleucus I received and show how Appian employed them according to the same agenda. Finally, I will look at the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris; I suggest that Appian readapted it to fit his purpose and further emphasise Seleucus' permanent successes in the area.

As regards Appian's definition of Roman limits and the Seleucid Empire, the first geographical element I will consider is the river Euphrates. From the time of Augustus the river represented the limit between the Roman Empire and the Parthian empire, i.e. Asia. The only successful expeditions beyond this limit, in Roman times, were those of Trajan and Lucius Verus during their wars against the Parthians. Appian, in the preface to his *Roman History*, defines the Euphrates as one of the boundaries of the Roman Empire[482]:

[481] Str. 16.2.5; Plut. *Crass*. 32; Plin. *Nat. Hist*. 6.122; Tac. *Ann*. 6.42; Jos. *AJ* 18.310-279; Dabrowa (1983), 99-100; (1994), 54-80; Ellerbrock and Winkelman (2012), 102-103; Gregoratti (2012), 130 with bibliography.
[482] Hekster and Kaizer (2004), 78 ff.

τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ποταμός τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος ἀρχὴ καὶ Κόλχοι […] τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πελάγους

Those (i.e. boundaries) of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the Kingdom of Great Armenia, the Colchians […] and the remainder of the coast.[483]

We will come back to this point later to see how Appian describes Seleucus as conqueror of the Asian territories 'beyond the Euphrates'.

The second interesting spatial element concerns Appian's perception and description of the Seleucid Empire. In the introduction to the second section of the *Syriaca*, Appian writes: "I have described how the Romans conquered Syria and brought it to its present condition; it is not inappropriate to give a brief account of the part played by the Macedonians, who were kings of Syria before the Romans".[484] Appian clearly introduces the Seleucids as the kings of Syria. In another passage, Appian defined the Seleucid Empire as being formed by those "territories from the Euphrates to Egypt and the Sea";[485] namely the Syrian land. In other words, in Appian's account, the Seleucids are presented as *kings of Syria* and the Seleucid Empire as that empire which developed across the *Syrian lands*. This, in Appian's own time, represented the Roman province of Syria. In another part of the *Syriaca*, Appian introduces Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (116-96 BC) as, again, the "king of Syria".[486] In the same way, he also refers to Antiochus X Eusebes (95-83) when he describes how the king succeeded his father Antiochus.[487]Again, when introducing the last of the Seleucid kings, Antiochus XIII Asiaticus (69-64), Appian writes: "He was the seventeenth king of *Syria*, reckoning from Seleucus".[488] Not only did Appian label the last Seleucid kings as "kings of Syria", but he also described in this way the first Seleucids. When Appian introduces Seleucus Callinicus (246-255 BC), he states that: "he succeeded Theos as king of Syria".[489] Appian presents the Seleucids as connected with the Syrian land even when he introduces Antiochus I, the successor of Seleucus I: "But after the death of Seleucus, the kingdom of Syria passed in

[483] App. *Praef*. 4.
[484] App. *Syr*. 52.
[485] App. *Syr*. 50: "the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia, inland Syria and Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the Sea". This geographical definition of Seleucid Empire also appears when he described Tigranes' arrival in Seleucid Syria. App. *Syr*. 48: "Tigranes conquered all the Syrian peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt".
[486] App. *Syr*. 69.
[487] App. *Syr*. 69.
[488] App. *Syr*. 70.
[489] App. *Syr*. 66.

regular succession from father to son".[490] The Seleucid Empire at the time of Antiochus I onwards is, for Appian, already just the 'kingdom of Syria'. Appian's interest in linking the Seleucid kings to Syria is, finally, stressed again in the conclusion to the *Syriaca*. Appian states: "So much in the way of digression concerning the Macedonian kings of Syria".[491] This conclusion matches the statement that Appian has made in the introduction: his interest is to narrate the history of the Seleucids as kings of Syria and the Seleucid Empire as a Syrian kingdom.[492] This link between the Seleucid kings and Syria is further emphasised by the fact that Appian labels the subjects of the Seleucid Empire as "the Syrians".[493]

This pattern, however, changes abruptly when Appian refers in his narration to Seleucus I. The whole excursus dedicated to Seleucus focuses, in terms of geographical space, on Asia, and the Seleucid Empire is now considered as that of the Eastern territories 'beyond the Euphrates'. Seleucus is rarely mentioned as king of Syria, while he is frequently referred to as king of Babylon and Mesopotamia. In this context, the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris is also narrated. Although Appian did acknowledge the strong link between the Seleucids and Syria as this was probably perceived as such in his own time, he presented Seleucus to the Roman power as linked to Asia. Appian is clearly aware of the fact that the territories under Parthian control were part of the Seleucid Empire. He writes that "the Parthians, who had previously revolted from the rule of the Seleucids, seized Mesopotamia, which had been subject to that house".[494]. He also acknowledges that these territories beyond the Euphrates were not included within the Roman limits as it appears clear from the passage quoted above ("Those (i.e. boundaries) of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the Kingdom of Great Armenia, the Colchians […] and the remainder of the coast"). I argue that Appian's choice of presenting Seleucus I as such was intentional.

Let us now look at Appian's text concerning Seleucus I in detail. In *Syr*. 53 Appian introduces Seleucus as "the satrap of Babylon". He explains how Seleucus fled from Babylon during the war against Antigonus (316 BC) and how he subsequently resumed the government of the region (312 BC) after Demetrius' defeat at the Battle of Gaza. Then, Appian mentions how all the Diadochi, in the aftermath of the battle, proclaimed themselves kings. Regarding Seleucus, he writes: "In this way Seleucus became king of Babylon".[495] So

[490] App. *Syr*. 65.
[491] App. *Syr*. 70.
[492] A few scanty references are to the Babylonians but the focus is firmly on Syria.
[493] See, for example, App. *Syr*. 44; 47; 67; 69.
[494] App. *Syr*. 49; Cfr. also App. *Syr*. 51.
[495] App. *Syr*. 55.

far, the connection between Seleucus and Asia may be justified by the fact that before the battle of Ipsus (301 BC), Seleucus did not have possession of the Syrian land and could not, therefore, be defined as king of Syria. After describing these events, Appian summarises the episode concerning the battle of Ipsus and the victory of the Diadochi over Antigonus. After Antigonus' defeat, the other Diadochi divided his territories among themselves. According to Appian: "at this division, all Syria from the Euphrates to the Sea, […] fell to the lot of Seleucus".[496] Appian acknowledges that Seleucus is now ruler of Syria. Immediately after this, however, Appian mentions the other territories acquired by Seleucus: "he acquired Mesopotamia, Armenia, the so-called Seleucid Cappadocia, the Persians, the Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyri, Sogdiani, Arachotes, Hyrcanians, and all the other adjacent peoples that had been subdued by Alexander, as far as the river Indus".[497] Appian is particularly stressing Seleucus' territorial acquisition in the East. In addition, Appian compares Seleucus, in his endeavour, with Alexander the Great. The tone of this passage recalls a passage from *Syr*. 1 where Seleucus, rather than being presented as the king of Syria, is described as the one "who succeed Alexander in the government of the Asiatic countries around the Euphrates". Not only is Seleucus compared here with Alexander, but he is, again presented as the king who mastered the territories around the Euphrates, i.e. Asia, rather than the territories from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea, i.e. Syria.

Before proceeding further with the analysis of Appian's text concerning Seleucus I and the East, it is necessary to discuss briefly Appian's sources for the excursus on Seleucus, as the latter, at times, presents similarities with passages from Diodorus Siculus' books 18-21 which focus on the Diadochi. Scholars such as Hadley and Landucci, who have studied the *Syriaca* focusing on *Quellenforschung*, have acknowledged that Appian's text on Seleucus presents both similarities with the account from Diodorus, but also some differences.[498] These scholars have suggested that the authors might have used a common source now lost to us, which would be Hieronymus of Cardia. They believe that the similarities in the accounts of Diodorus and Appian were due to the fact that the historians were both copying the same passage from Hieronymus; the differences between the two accounts, on the other hand, were considered by the scholars to be due to the fact that Diodorus and Appian were copying different parts of Hieronymus' text. However, although we can safely argue that Diodorus

[496] App. *Syr*. 55.
[497] App. *Syr*. 55.
[498] Landucci Gattinoni (2005), 155 ff; Hadley (1969), 142-152.

derives his passages concerning Seleucus from Hieronymus, as he quotes him directly,[499] we cannot safely argue the same for Appian as he does not quote any of his sources. Therefore, it may be possible that Diodorus and Appian used the same source, but we cannot altogether exclude the idea that Appian may have actually used different sources or also read the information directly from Diodorus himself.[500]

As regards the differences between Appian and Diodorus' texts, I look at them from another point of view. As said above, recent scholarship has re-evaluated Appian as a historian demonstrating that he is not a mere copier of his sources, but that he interpreted and arranged his material according to his own agenda. Following on this, I argue that the differences from Diodorus could also be read as Appian's intentional re-arrangement of historical information according to his agenda. He might have readapted the information to engage with the cultural climate during the Parthian wars. An example of this could be the very passage from Appian, which contains the list of Seleucus' territorial acquisitions (*Syr*. 55) which we have mentioned above. Diodorus mentions the territories that Seleucus I acquired after the battle of Ipsus; however, these mentions are not emphasised; rather, they are scattered across his books 18-21. In addition, he never names territories such as Parthia and Persia. On the contrary, Appian lists these Eastern territorial acquisitions all together emphasising, in this way, Seleucus' territorial expansion in the East. In other words, Appian, I posit, seems to particularly stress the presence of Seleucus in Mesopotamia, Armenia, Persia, and Parthia, namely the 'territories beyond the Euphrates', which in Appian's own time were under Parthian control. The river Indus is also mentioned in the passage from Appian and this territorial expansion is immediately compared with Alexander's endeavours. According to Appian, Seleucus, like Alexander before him, had subdued people "as far as the river Indus". As we have seen in the previous section, the emperor Trajan, during his Parthian campaign, reached the river Indus in the attempt to emulate Alexander.[501] Therefore, if we read the passage from Appian taking into account the dialogue between Greek writers and Roman propaganda concerning the East, it could be argued that listing Seleucus' territorial acquisitions in the East in this way may represent Appian's attempt at engaging with it. By emphasising Seleucus' territorial acquisitions in the East and comparing them with those of Alexander, Appian is presenting the Roman audience with Seleucus as the Successor king who mastered these territories.

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[499] See Hornblower (1981); Roisman (2010).
[500] Gabba in Brodersen (1989), 132, n.4, says "piu' fonti, per noi inidentificabili dello stesso Appiano".
[501] D. Cass. 68.29.1-2.

The link between Seleucus and the Asian territories beyond the Euphrates is even more clearly emphasised by Appian when, in the chapter following the list of Seleucus' territorial acquisitions, he narrates various prophecies received by Seleucus which would foretell his kingship over Asia. Appian, I argue, strategically inserts these prophecies at this point in the narrative in order to emphasise further the bond between Seleucus I and Asia. By comparing the prophecies transmitted by Appian with those transmitted by other sources, in addition, it will appear that this historian seems to have approached the prophecies according the same agenda.

Let us look at the first prophecy:

> λέγεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ, στρατιώτῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἑπομένῳ, χρησμὸν ἐν Διδυμέως γενέσθαι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπανόδου, ‘μὴ σπεῦδ᾽ Εὐρώπηνδ᾽. Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων.’
>
> It is said that while he was still serving under Alexander [the Great] and following him in the war against the Persians, he (i.e. Seleucus) consulted the Didymaean oracle to inquire about his return to Macedonia and that he received for an answer: "Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you".[502]

Scholars, such as Brodersen and Hadley, argue that the same prophecy can also be found in a passage from Diodorus dedicated to Seleucus I.[503] According to Diodorus:

> πιστεύειν δὲ δεῖν καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν προρρήσεσι τὸ τέλος ἔσεσθαι τῆς στρατείας ἄξιον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς: ἐν μὲν γὰρ Βραγχίδαις αὐτοῦ χρηστηριαζομένου τὸν θεὸν προσαγορεῦσαι Σέλευκον βασιλέα.
>
> (Seleucus added that they) ought also to believe the oracles of the gods which had foretold that the end of his campaign would be worthy of his purpose for when he had consulted the oracle in Branchidae the god had greeted him as king Seleucus. [504]

The Didymean oracle and the oracle in Branchidae are equivalent.[505] Brodersen argued that Appian and Diodorus are referring to a similar prophecy foretelling Seleucus' kingship. Although the two prophecies do have some common points, they also present differences. First of all, the historical background. In Diodorus' passage, Seleucus receives the prophecy after he consults the oracle in Branchide, Asia Minor; while according to Appian, Seleucus

[502] App. *Syr.* 56.
[503] Hadley (1969), 143; Brodersen (1989), 133-134.
[504] Diod. 19.90.3-4.
[505] See Brodersen (1989), 134-135 with bibliography on this topic.

received the prophecy while he is campaigning in Persia with Alexander. Again, in Appian's text, a clear connection emerges between Seleucus and the territories beyond the Euphrates – Persia in particular. Moreover, his presence in this land is compared with that of Alexander the Great. In addition, while Diodorus' oracle foresees Seleucus' kingship without adding further details, Appian's oracle foresees Seleucus' kingship in *Asia*. It seems, therefore, that Appian chose to transmit, or revised, a source that specifically linked Seleucus to Asia rather than to Syria. As we have seen in the previous section, in Appian's times, Persia and Alexander, were two key-concepts of the cultural debate concerning the Parthian wars. Roman emperors in their wars against the Parthian enemy compared themselves with Alexander against the Persians. Appian is offering them another example to imitate from the Macedonian past.

The same pattern occurs in the following prophecy told by Appian:

> καὶ ὄναρ αὐτοῦ τὴν μητέρα ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἂν εὕροι δακτύλιον, δοῦναι φόρημα Σελεύκῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύσειν ἔνθα ἂν ὁ δακτύλιος ἐκπέσῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ηὗρεν ἄγκυραν ἐν σιδήρῳ κεχαραγμένην, ὁ δὲ τὴν σφραγῖδα τήνδε ἀπώλεσε κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην.
>
> His (Seleucus') mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she found she should give him to carry, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. [506]

According to Engels, Hadley and Brodersen, Justin transmits the same passage in his epitome of the *Philippic History* of Pompeus Trogus:

> Huius quoque virtus clara et origo admirabilis fuit; siquidem mater eius Laodice, […] visa sibi est per quietem ex concubitu Apollinis concepisse, gravidamque factam munus concubitus a deo anulum accepisse, in cuius gemma anchora sculpta esset; iussaque donum filio, quem peperisset, dare. Admirabilem fecit hunc visum et anulus, qui postera die eiusdem sculpturae in lecto inventus est, et figura anchorae, quae in femore Seleuci nata cum ipso parvulo fuit. Quamobrem Laodice anulum Seleuco eunti cum Alexandro Magno ad Persicam militiam, edocto de origine sua, dedit.
>
> The merit of Seleucus was well known, and his birth had been attended with extraordinary circumstances. For his mother Laodice, […] seemed to herself, in a dream, to have conceived from a union with Apollo, and, after becoming pregnant, to have received from him, as a reward for her compliance, a ring, on the stone of which was engraved an anchor and which she

[506] App. *Syr*. 56.

was desired to give to the child that she should bring forth. A ring similarly engraved, which was found the next day in the bed, and the figure of an anchor, which was visible on the thigh of Seleucus when he was born, made this dream extremely remarkable. This ring Laodice gave to Seleucus, when he was going with Alexander to the Persian war, informing him, at the same time, of his paternity.[507]

Both passages do present similarities. They both contain a mention of Laodice's dream and the ring-with-anchor element. However, as for the previous prophecy, these passages also present differences. While in Justin's passage this episode means to link Seleucus with the paternity of Apollo, in Appian it means to re-emphasise Seleucus' kingship of 'the territories beyond the Euphrates'.[508]

Appian points this out again in the next prophecy which focuses on Seleucus and the anchor. Appian is the only author to transmit it:

λέγεται καὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπιόντα ὕστερον προσκόψαι λίθῳ, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἀνασκαφέντα ἄγκυραν ὀφθῆναι. θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων ὡς ἐπὶ συμβόλῳ κατοχῆς, Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου παραπέμποντα εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἄγκυραν, οὐ κατοχῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. καὶ Σελεύκῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἡ σφραγὶς ἄγκυρα ἦν.

It is said that at a later period, when he was returning to recover Babylon, he stumbled against a stone and that when the stone was dug up it was understood to be an anchor. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy, thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay. For this reason, Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring.[509]

Here again, Seleucus is geographically linked to Babylon, namely the territories beyond the Euphrates and his kingship is linked to this area rather than to Syria.

The last prophecy transmitted by Appian focuses again on the link between Seleucus, Alexander and the Parthian territories in the East. It is particularly interesting as it further shows how Appian with this excursus seems to be interacting with the second-century cultural climate concerning the Roman-Parthian wars. This is the prophecy as narrated by Appian:

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[507] Just. 15.4.2-6.
[508] Interestingly, both Justin and Appian recall a passage by Euphorion of Chalcis as transmitted by Tertullian's *De anima*, 46.6: "Euphorion has publicly recorded as a fact, that, previous to giving birth to Seleucus, his mother Laodice foresaw that he was destined for the empire of Asia".
[509] App. *Syr*. 56.

δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ περιόντος ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἕτερον τῷ Σελεύκῳ σημεῖον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐπανελθόντι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ λίμνας ἐπὶ χρείᾳ τοῦ τὸν Εὐφράτην τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἀρδεύειν περιπλέοντι, ἄνεμος ἐμπεσὼν ἥρπασε τὸ διάδημα, καὶ φερόμενον ἐκρεμάσθη δόνακος ἐν τάφῳ τινὸς ἀρχαίου βασιλέως. καὶ ἐσήμαινε μὲν ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τόδε, ναύτην δέ φασιν ἐκκολυμβήσαντα περιθέσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν ἄβροχον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ λαβεῖν τῆς προθυμίας αὐτίκα δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τάλαντον ἀργυρίου: τῶν δὲ μάντεων αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων οἱ μὲν πεισθῆναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀντειπεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τάδε πάντα ὑπερελθόντες, οὐ ναύτην ὅλως φασὶν ἀλλὰ Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκκολυμβῆσαι, καὶ περιθέσθαι Σέλευκον αὐτὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἵν᾽ ἄβροχον εἴη. καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐς τέλος ἀμφοῖν ἀπαντῆσαι. Ἀλέξανδρόν τε γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μεταστῆναι τοῦ βίου, καὶ Σέλευκον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γῆς, ὅτι πλείστης μάλιστα τόνδε τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων, βασιλεῦσαι.

Some say that while Alexander was still alive and looking on, another omen of the future power of Seleucus was made manifest in this wise. After Alexander had returned from India to Babylon and while he was sailing around the Babylonian lagoons with a view to the irrigation of the Assyrian fields from the Euphrates, a wind struck him and carried away his diadem and hung it on a bunch of reeds growing on the tomb of an ancient king. This of itself signified the early death of Alexander. They say that a sailor swam after it, put it on his own head, and, without wetting it, brought it to Alexander, who gave him at once a silver talent as a reward for his kind service. The soothsayers advised putting the man to death. Some say that Alexander followed their advice. Others say the contrary. Other narrators skip that part of the story and say that it was no sailor at all, but Seleucus who swam after the king's diadem, and that he put it on his own head to avoid wetting it. The signs turned out true as to both of them in the end, for Alexander departed from life in Babylon and Seleucus became the ruler of a larger part of his dominions than any other of Alexander's successors.[510]

Brodersen and Hadley agree in considering the content of the first part of this passage as very similar to that transmitted by Diodorus:

μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ ἄλλο σημεῖον αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέστησε. βουλομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ θεάσασθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα λίμνην καὶ πλέοντος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἔν τισιν ἀκάτοις ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἀποσχισθείσης τῆς νεὼς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σκαφῶν ἐπλανήθη μόνος, ὥστε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνῶναι. ἔπειτα διά τινος αὐλῶνος στενοῦ καὶ συμπεπυκασμένου δένδρεσι διαπλέοντος καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπερκειμένων, τοῦ δὲ διαδήματος

[510] App. *Syr*. 56.

ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρθέντος καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν λίμνην πεσόντος εἷς τῶν ἐρετῶν προσνηξάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῶς σῶσαι τὸ διάδημα προσέθετο τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ προσενήξατο τῷ πλοίῳ. τρεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας διαπλανηθεὶς διεσώθη καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἀνελπίστως πάλιν τοῖς μάντεσι προσανέφερε περὶ τῶν προσημαινομένων.

A little while later heaven sent him a second portent about his kingship. He had conceived the desire to see the great swamp of Babylonia and set sail with his friends in a number of skiffs. For some days, his boat became separated from the others and he was lost and alone, fearing that he might never get out alive. As his craft was proceeding through a narrow channel where the reeds grew thickly and overhung the water, his diadem was caught and lifted from his head by one of them and then dropped into the swamp. One of the oarsmen swam after it and, wishing to return it safely, placed it on his head and so swam back to the boat. After three days and nights of wandering, Alexander found his way to safety just as he had again put on his diadem when this seemed beyond hope. Again, he turned to the soothsayers for the meaning of all this.[511]

Arrian in his *Anabasis* also transmits this same episode. However, differently from Diodorus, Arrian also transmits the content of the second part of Appian' story, where Seleucus is concerned. Arrian and Appian are the only authors who transmit it. Here is the text from Arrian:

Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν δὴ τῶν τινα Φοινίκων τῶν ναυτῶν λέγει ὅτι τὸ διάδημα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκόμισεν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ Σέλευκον λέγουσιν. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σημῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μεγάλην. Σέλευκον γὰρ μέγιστον τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλέα γενέσθαι τήν τε γνώμην βασιλικώτατον καὶ πλείστης γῆς ἐπάρξαι μετά γε αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔ μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐς ἀμφίλογον.

Aristobulos then says that it was one of the Phoenician sailors who fetched the fillet for Alexander; but there are some who say it was Seleucus, and that this was an omen to Alexander of his death and to Seleucus of his great kingdom. For that of all those who succeeded to the sovereignty after Alexander, Seleucus became the greatest king, was the most kingly in mind, and ruled over the greatest extent of land after Alexander himself, does not seem to me to admit of question.[512]

This episode is relevant for various reasons. First of all, it demonstrates, once again, the link between Seleucus, Alexander, and the territories beyond the Euphrates, particularly when

[511] Diod. 17.116.5-7.
[512] Arr. *An*. 7.22. For a comment on this passage see also Bosworth (1980).

Appian's version of the story is concerned. Secondly, it shows, as we have already mentioned above, how Arrian was also interested in the image of Seleucus I and, although very briefly, he mentions him in his *Anabasis*. Thirdly, this episode allows us to argue that Appian might have been reading Arrian. We will come back to this last point later in this section. What interests me here is to highlight that this passage (as well as the previous reference to Alexander) demonstrates that Appian was very probably aware of the main cultural stream of second century AD Roman imperial propaganda concerning the Parthian wars. This passage would, therefore, further support the idea that the excursus on Seleucus was intentionally elaborated in order to interact with it.

As regards the prophecies, I am not arguing that Appian is inventing them in his account in order to support his agenda. These were existent before Appian's time as is demonstrated by the fact that Diodorus and Justin/Trogus transmit a version of these prophecies similar to that of Appian. (The same goes with the link between Alexander and Seleucus: we do not know whether it was Appian who created it or whether this was already existent. Appian, however, was emphasising it.) What I argue here is that Appian chooses and organises his material in his account in order to stress the link between Seleucus and Asia; in addition, he seems to have rearranged the texts emphasising some details rather than others in order to transmit his specific message.[513]

There is further evidence that Appian, in writing the excursus on Seleucus, was following a specific agenda. After the description of the prophecies concerning Seleucus I, Appian continues his account by focusing on Seleucus' colonial endeavour (*Syr*. 57).[514] He presents Seleucus primarily as coloniser of Asian territories beyond the Euphrates rather than of Syria. Appian emphasises this point by concluding this section with the narration of the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris. Appian is the only author who provides us with a long and detailed list of the colonies founded by Seleucus I:

> πόλεις δὲ ὤκισεν ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἑκκαίδεκα μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, πέντε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ Λαοδικείας, ἐννέα δ᾽ ἐπωνύμους ἑαυτοῦ, τέσσαρας δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, τρεῖς Ἀπαμείας καὶ Στρατονίκειαν μίαν. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέσταται καὶ νῦν

[513] This would be further shown by the fact that Appian does not include in his excursus other prophecies transmitted by other sources such as Diodorus. If we look at Diodorus, we see that Seleucus received other prophecies concerning his future. The first one is a prophecy given by the Chaldeans to Antigonus concerning Seleucus' future kingship (Diod. 19.55). The second prophecy concerns Seleucus' dream of Alexander (Diod.19.90.91).

[514] Appian, in addition, summarises Seleucus' career in this chapter focusing again on Seleucus as satrap of Babylon.

Σελεύκειαι μὲν ἥ τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, Λαοδίκεια δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει καὶ ἡ τῆς Συρίας Ἀπάμεια. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ Μακεδονίας ὠνόμαζεν, ἢ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἑαυτοῦ τισιν, ἢ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως: ὅθεν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις πολλὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν πολλὰ δὲ Μακεδονικῶν πολισμάτων ὀνόματα, Βέρροια, Ἔδεσσα, Πέρινθος, Μαρώνεια, Καλλίπολις, Ἀχαΐα, Πέλλα, Ὠρωπός, Ἀμφίπολις, Ἀρέθουσα, Ἀστακός, Τεγέα, Χαλκίς, Λάρισα, Ἥραια, Ἀπολλωνία, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παρθυηνῇ Σώτειρα, Καλλιόπη, Χάρις, Ἑκατόμπυλος, Ἀχαΐα, ἐν δ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις Ἀλεξανδρέσχατα. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου νίκαις ἔστι Νικηφόριόν τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ Νικόπολις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας.

He built cities throughout the entire length of his dominions and named sixteen of them Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine after himself, and four after his wives, that is, three Apamea and one Stratonicea. Of these the two most renowned at the present time are the two Seleucias, one on the sea and the other on the river Tigris, Laodicea in Phoenicia, Antioch under Mount Lebanon, and Apamea in Syria. To others he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, or from his own exploits, or in honor of Alexander; whence it comes to pass that in Syria and among the barbarous regions of upper Asia many of the towns bear Greek and Macedonian names, such as Berroea, Edessa, Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaea, Pella, Oropus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea, Chalcis, Larissa, Heraea, and Apollonia; in Parthia also Sotera, Calliope, Charis, Hecatompylus, Achaea; in India Alexandropolis; among the Scythians an Alexandria Eschate. From the victories of Seleucus come the names of Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and of Nicopolis in Armenia very near Cappadocia.[515]

At the beginning of the passage, in particular, Appian focuses on the most renowned Seleucid cities of his time; for example, he mentions Seleucia on the Tigris. On the other hand, among the cities founded by Seleucus in Syria, he does not mention Antioch, which was still considered as the cultural capital of the empire. Scholars dismiss the fact by stating that Appian made a mistake and confused Antioch and Laodicea in North Syria with Laodicea in Phoenicia and Antioch under Mount Lebanon.[516] This might be very probable; yet, I would suggest that it is intriguing considering the importance of Antioch the Great in the time of Appian. In Roman times, Antioch the Great was highly renowned. Not only was the city the capital of the Roman province of Syria from the moment of the creation of the province under Pompey but, from the time of Trajan, the city acquired noteworthy importance as a military

[515] App. *Syr*. 57-8.
[516] Cohen (2006), 93; 205 with bibliography.

base for Roman campaigns against Parthia.[517] In the time of Appian, Antioch was being filled with Lucius Verus' troops in preparation for his Parthian war. At that time, Appian was already in Rome working as an imperial advocate and he was in a close friendship with Fronto, Lucius' tutor who wrote about the Emperor's Parthian war.[518] For these reasons, it is likely that the historian was aware of the political situation and of the role played by Antioch in it. On the other hand, as regards Antioch itself, the city still emphasised its past and its Seleucid identity in the second century AD (as I have demonstrated in my previous chapter), and it was recognised as such by the Roman power. Malalas shows that Trajan paid honour to the founder Seleucus I by erecting a group of statues in the theatre of Antioch representing the Macedonian king and his son Antiochus.[519] Antioch's mythical past was also emphasised in the second century AD. There is a passage from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius (sixth century AD) which shows how Phlegon of Tralles, who was part of Hadrian's cultural entourage, wrote about the foundation myths of Antioch.[520] In other words, Antioch was widely acknowledged as Seleucus I's foundation in the Roman world of the second century AD and considered as the cultural core of the collapsed Seleucid Empire. For all these reasons, I tentatively suggest that Appian did not mention Antioch among the cities founded by Seleucus or among the most Seleucid renowned cities of his own time on purpose rather than by mistake. He may have wanted his readers to focus on Seleucus as coloniser of the Asian lands rather than of Syria.

This list of colonies is immediately followed by the narration of the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris, which is in Asia. The choice of focusing on Seleucia and placing it at this point on the narration, I argue, follows Appian's agenda. Appian, I suggest, might have chosen to transmit the content of the foundation account in order to engage properly with the cultural climate of his own time and to present Seleucus as the Macedonian king who colonised those Parthian territories that were the focus of the Roman-Parthian campaigns. For the sake of clarity, I will quote the foundation story in detail:

> ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἡμέραν ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς μάγους κελευομένους, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν, ᾗ τῶν θεμελίων ἄρξασθαι τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἔδει, ψεύσασθαι τὴν ὥραν τοὺς μάγους, οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐπιτείχισμα τοιόνδε σφίσι γενέσθαι. καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὴν δεδομένην ὥραν ἀνέμενεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἕτοιμος, ἀτρεμῶν ἔστε σημήνειεν ὁ

[517] Downey (1961).
[518] Davenport and Manley (2014), 155 ff.
[519] Malal. 11.9.
[520] Evag. 1.20.

Σέλευκος, ἄφνω κατὰ τὴν αἰσιωτέραν ὥραν δόξαντές τινα κελεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεπήδησαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν κηρύκων ἐρυκόντων ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξετετέλεστο, Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχοντι, καὶ τοὺς μάγους αὖθις ἀνακρίνοντι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἄδειαν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον οἱ μάγοι: 'τὴν πεπρωμένην ὦ βασιλεῦ μοῖραν, χείρονά τε καὶ κρείσσονα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως ἐναλλάξαι. μοῖρα δέ τις καὶ πόλεών ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τήνδε χρονιωτάτην μὲν ἐδόκει τοῖς θεοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀρχομένην ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας ἧς ἐγένετο: δειμαίνοντες δ᾽ ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα ἡμῖν ἐσομένην, παρεφέρομεν τὸ πεπρωμένον. τὸ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἦν καὶ μάγων πανουργούντων καὶ βασιλέως ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτό. τοιγάρτοι τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ αἰσιώτερα τῷ στρατῷ προσέταξεν. καὶ τοῦτο ἔνι σοι καταμαθεῖν ὧδε, ἵνα μή τι καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἔτι τεχνάζειν ὑπονοῇς. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺ τῷ στρατῷ παρεκάθησο, καὶ τὸ κέλευσμα αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκεις ἀναμένειν: καὶ ὁ εὐπειθέστατος ὢν σοι πρὸς κινδύνους καὶ πόνους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο νῦν οὐδὲ ἀναπαύσεως ἐπιτάγματος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνέθορεν, οὐδὲ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀλλ᾽ ἀθρόως, ἐπιστάταις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐνόμιζε κεκελεῦσθαι. καὶ ἐκεκέλευστο δή: διόπερ οὐδὲ σοῦ κατερύκοντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. τί ἂν οὖν βασιλέως ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἴη καρτερώτερον ἄλλο θεοῦ; ὃς τῆς σῆς γνώμης ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἡγεμόνευσέ σοι τῆς πόλεως ἀντὶ ἡμῶν, δυσμεναίνων ἡμῖν τε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῷ περιοίκῳ. ποῦ γὰρ ἔτι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἰσχύσει, δυνατωτέρου γένους παρῳκισμένου; ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις σοι γέγονε σὺν τύχῃ καὶ μεγιστεύσει καὶ χρόνιος ἔσται: σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν, ἐξαμαρτοῦσιν ὑπὸ δέους οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀφαιρέσεως, τὴν συγγνώμην βεβαίου.' ταῦτα τῶν μάγων εἰπόντων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥσθη καὶ συνέγνω.

[…] When the Magians were ordered to indicate the propitious day and hour for beginning the foundations of Seleucia on the Tigris they falsified as to the hour because they did not want to have such a stronghold built against themselves. While the king was waiting in his tent for the appointed hour, and the army, in readiness to begin the work, stood quietly till Seleucus should give the signal, suddenly, at the true hour of destiny, they seemed to hear a voice ordering them on. So they sprang to their work with such alacrity that the heralds who tried to stop them were not able to do so. When the work was brought to an end Seleucus, being troubled in his mind, again made inquiry of the Magians concerning his city, and they, having first secured a promise of impunity, replied, "That which is fated, o king, whether it be for better or worse, neither man nor city can change, for there is a fate for cities as well as for men. It pleases the gods that this city shall endure for ages, because it was begun on the hour on which it was begun. We feared lest it should be a stronghold against ourselves, and falsified the appointed time. Destiny is stronger than crafty Magians or an unsuspecting king. For that reason the deity announced the more propitious hour to the army. It is permitted you to know these things so surely that you need not suspect us of deception still, for you were presiding over the army yourself, as king,

> and you had yourself ordered them to wait; but the army, ever obedient to you in facing danger and toil, could not now be restrained, even when you gave them the order to stop, but sprang to their work, not a part of them merely, but all together, and their officers with them, thinking that the order had been given. In fact it had been given. That was the reason why not even you could hold them back. What can be stronger in human affairs than a king, unless it be a god, who overcame your intention and supplanted us in giving you directions about the city? For the god is in hostility to us and to all the people round about. What can our resources avail hereafter with a more powerful race settled alongside of us? This city of yours has had a fortunate beginning, it will be great and enduring. We beg that you will confirm your pardon of our fault which we committed from fear of the loss of our own prosperity." The king was pleased with what the Magians said and pardoned them.[521]

Scholars so far have considered the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris as entirely produced at Seleucus I's court and have argued that it reflects elements of Seleucus I's kingship.[522] The myth would explain Seleucus' political and religious choices, such as his relations with the Babylonian priests and with his army. Scholars have focused on the negative behaviour of the magi towards Seleucus, arguing that this corresponds to a reaction of the local elite of Babylon to the foundation of Seleucia. I focus, instead, on the foundation account from the point of view of Appian. The passage above presents Seleucus and his founding activity in the East as formidable and predestined. Even the powerful magians, who tried to alter the events, did not manage to stop the king's territorial expansion and colonisation. Seleucus is furthermore as assisted in his endeavour by the divinity. All these details, therefore, would have reinforced the main point of Appian's narrative of Seleucus and helped the historian to depict the Seleucid king as the conqueror of the Eastern enemy. In addition, it may be possible that Appian himself also rearranged some elements of the myth in order to engage further with the Roman propaganda concerning the Parthian wars. This would be shown by two elements in the myth, mainly the Herodotean style of the passage and the presence of the magi. In what follows I will focus on these two points.

Let us begin with the first one. Appian's foundation account presents a Herodotean style in terms of both language and contents. Brodersen, followed by Kosmin, pointed out how Appian in his account refers to language from Hdt. 1.91.1-2 and Hdt. 3.65.3.[523] Although they

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[521] App. *Syr*. 58.
[522] See, for example, Marasco (1982), 100-103; Brodersen (1989), 163-169; Briant (1990), 56-57; Scharrer (1999), 95-128; Grainger (1990a); (2014), 37-38; Cohen (1996); Gowkowsky (2007), 154-157; Primo (2009), 243; Kosmin (2014), 212.
[523] Brodersen, (1989), 167; Kosmin (2014), 341.

recognised this style in Appian, they have never put it into a wider context. I suggest that the Herodotean style may be Appian's own contribution aimed at engaging with the cultural climate of his own time and at delivering a specific message to the Roman audience. The Herodotean elements in this passage can be read in light of a specific tendency of second-century AD authors who frequently refer to Herodotus in style and content when writing of the Parthian Wars. As we have already seen in the first section of this chapter, Latin and Greek writers, when discussing the Roman-Parthian Wars in their works, used memories from Greek cultural heritage, such as those concerning Alexander the Great. The other phenomenon common to these Latin and Greek writers, in particular from the time of Trajan's expedition in the East, is a Herodotus-mania. Authors who write of the Roman-Parthian wars, usually recall Herodotus in style (i.e. the Ionic dialect), and in contents (i.e. the wars against the Persian enemy). This is mostly due to the fact that Herodotus, more than any other ancient writer, had offered the most detailed account of the confrontation between East and West.[524] Lucian, who lived in the second century AD (125-180 AD) under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, informs us about this tendency among the Greek writers. In his work on *How to Write History*[525], which is dedicated to discussing the main principles of historiography, he focuses entirely on one historical event, namely Lucius Verus' Parthian war. Here, Lucian mocks historians who narrated the Emperor's campaign and emphasises that many of them imitated Herodotus.[526] According to Lucian:

> ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ταῦτα κεκίνηται—ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τραῦμα καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς νῖκαι—οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐχ ἱστορίαν συγγράφει· μᾶλλον δὲ Θουκυδίδαι καὶ Ἡρόδοτοι καὶ Ξενοφῶντες ἡμῖν ἅπαντες.
>
> […] No, ever since the present situation arose --the war against the barbarian, the disaster in Armenian, the succession of victories—every single person is writing history; nay, more, they are all Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon to us.[527]
>
> Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνου ὅσιον ἀμνημονῆσαι, ὃς τοιάνδε ἀρχὴν ἤρξατο· "Ἔρχομαι ἐρέων περὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσέων," καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον· "ἔδεε γὰρ Πέρσῃσι γενέσθαι κακῶς," καὶ πάλιν· "ἦν Ὀσρόης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ὀξυρόην ὀνυμέουσιν," καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ὁρᾷς; ὅμοιος αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὅσον ὁ μὲν Θουκυδίδη, οὗτος δὲ Ἡροδότῳ εὖ μάλα ἐῴκει.

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[524] Bowersock (1989), 407.
[525] See Jones (1986), 59.
[526] Jones (1986), 65ff.
[527] Luc. *Hist. Conscr*. 2. (Transl. By Kilburn 1959).

> […] Again it would not be right to omit (in my account) the one who began as follows: 'I come to speak of Romans and Persians', and a little later said: 'The Persians were foredoomed to come to grief', and again: 'It was Osroes, whom the Greeks call Oxyrhoes' and many more things of this sort, all in Ionic. Do you see? He was like Crepereus, only Crepereus was a wonderful copy of Thucydides, this man of Herodotus.[528]

In these passages, Lucian is showing his readers how a historian who writes of Lucius Verus' Parthian campaign (and who is now lost to us) is quoting directly from Herodotus. It is also interesting to note how Lucian describes the war of Rome against Parthia as the war of the Romans against the Persians. We have seen Polyaenus referring to this war in a similar way and we will see how Appian also will refer to the Persian world in his foundation myth of Seleucia. Not only did the anonymous second-century AD author presented by Lucian mimick Herodotus but, according to Bosworth[529], also Arrian referred to Herodotus' *Histories* in his *Anabasis of Alexander*. Bowersock noted how "the numerous and precise allusions to Herodotus in Arrian's history of Alexander are all demonstrably his own work and not borrowed from earlier historians of Alexander".[530] According to this evidence, I posit that also the Herodotean style of the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris might be considered as a form of second-century AD Herodotus-mania and, therefore, as a late adjustment by Appian who was engaging with the cultural climate of the Roman wars.

The second element to suggest that the foundation myth may present Appian's later revision concerns the presence of the magi in the story. When reading Appian's foundation myth, the element that catches our attention most is the magi. The term magi is usually associated with Persia and the Zoroastrian religion. There are a few cases from the literary tradition where the word 'magi' seems to be used to refer to the Chaldeans, the famous religious group from Babylon. Therefore, scholars have generally stated that the magi in the myth are the Babylonian Chaldeans.[531] Although this is certainly possible, I would suggest that more might be at stake here. Kosmin, who argues for the invention of the myth at the Seleucid court, when discussing the magi of the myth, shows his perplexity about them being placed in Babylonia.[532] In order to provide an explanation for the presence of the magi in Seleucia at

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[528] Luc. *Hist. Conscr*. 18.
[529] Bosworth (1972), 163-185; (1988), 43-44.
[530] Bowersock (1989), 411; in this article Bowersock argues that Appian imitates Herodotus in the organisation of his books (according to provincial regions rather than chronological order of events).
[531] For example, Plin. *Nat Hist.* 30.3; Luc. *Cal.* 11-13; with Brodersen (1989), 166; Musti (1966), 133; Capdetrey (2007), 57; Ogden (2017), 158-159.
[532] Kosmin (2014), 213: "the Magi, despite their Persian associations, in this text are clearly identified with nearby Babylon and Chaldean wisdom".

the time of Seleucus I, he states that Persian names were frequent in early Seleucid Babylon.[533] The myth from Appian, however, concerns Seleucia on the Tigris more than Babylon, so this does not help us completely to solve the conundrum of the magi in the Seleucid city or to understand why the first Seleucids would have claimed the magi when narrating the foundation of Seleucia.

On the other hand, Greek and Latin writers in the first and second century AD seem to clearly associate Chaldeans with Babylon without any confusion when discussing the events in the East. Cicero, for example, when introducing Crassus' brutal defeat at Carrhae, narrates that the Roman general had received a false prophecy from the Chaldeans:

> Quam multa ego Pompeio, quam multa Crasso, quam multa huic ipsi Caesari a Chaldaeis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi senectute, nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum! Ut mihi permirum videatur quemquam exstare qui etiam nunc credat iis quorum praedicta cotidie videat re et eventis refelli.
>
> I recall a multitude of prophecies which the Chaldeans made to Pompey, to Crassus and even to Caesar himself (now lately deceased), to the effect that no one of them would die except in old age, at home and in great glory. Hence it would seem very strange to me should anyone, especially at this time, believe in men whose predictions he sees disproved every day by actual results.[534]

Interestingly, furthermore, the Chaldeans seem to have been in Seleucia on the Tigris in the time of Lucius Verus and seem to have been recognised as such. When Ammianus Marcellinus narrates how Seleucia on the Tigris was sacked and burnt by Verus Caesar during Lucius Verus'campaign, he informs of the presence of the Chaldeans in the Seleucid city:

> Post hanc Seleucia ambitiosum opus Nicatoris Seleuci. Qua per duces Veri Caesaris, ut ante rettulimus, expulsata, avulsum sedibus simulacrum Comei Apollinis perlatumque Romam […] Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum incensa civitate milites fanum scrutantes invenere foramen angustum, quo reserato, ut pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis labes primordialis exiluit, quae insanabilium vi concepta morborum eiusdem Veri Marcique Antonini temporibus […].
>
> And finally there is Seleucia, the splendid work of Seleucus Nicator. When this city was stormed by the generals of Verus Caesar (as I have related before), the statue of Apollo

[533] Kosmin (2014), 341, n. 155.
[534] Cic. *De Div*. 2.99. (Translated by Falconer 1923).

> Comaeus was torn from its place and taken to Rome, […] And it is said that, after this same statue had been carried off and the city burned, the soldiers in ransacking the temple found a narrow crevice; this they widened in the hope of finding something valuable; but from a kind of shrine, closed by the occult arts of the Chaldaeans, the germ of that pestilence burst forth, which after generating the virulence of incurable diseases, in the time of the same Verus and of Marcus Antoninus […] .[535]

This passage confirms that Chaldeans were in Seleucia in the time of Lucius Verus. Therefore, I tentatively posit that the 'magi' in the myth may represent another adaptation by Appian. Firstly, the magi would fit in the context of the imitation of Herodotus explained above. Herodotus dedicated various passages of his books to exploring the magi – whom he places in Persia and not in Babylon.[536] Appian, who was imitating Herodotus, may have chosen to insert the magi in his narration to refer to Herodotean contents. Kosmin himself has pointed out that the very idea of deceptive magi that we find in Appian's foundation myth probably refers to the episode in Hdt. 3.65.[537] Secondly, the magi would make perfect sense if considered in the light of the cultural metaphors used by the Roman propaganda when referring to the Parthian enemy. As we have mentioned throughout the chapter, Roman emperors and imperial writers from the time of Augustus until the reign of Lucius Verus refer to the 'Parthians' by calling them 'Persians'. Therefore, by naming the enemy of Seleucus 'magi' (rather than 'Chaldeans' perhaps) Appian may have echoed the same metaphorical framework and placed Seleucus into it. Seleucus was presented as victorious over the magi, i.e. the Persian enemy. All this evidence, therefore, would show how Appian engaged in the cultural climate of his own time. In his *Syriaca*, he elaborates an image of Seleucus I in order to present him to the Roman power as the Successor king who, similarly to Alexander, conquered the East (Babylonia and Mesopotamia) and won against the Eastern foe.

4.5 Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter has shown how Appian appropriated and engaged with memories of Seleucia on the Tigris' Seleucid past. He used the foundation myth of the city and inserted it within the main narrative of his book. As I have tried to demonstrate, Appian's purpose was to deliver a specific message within a defined cultural discourse. He claimed the Seleucid identity of the city in the second century AD in order to engage with the cultural

[535] Amm. Marc. 23.6.23-24. (Translated by Rolfe 1939-1950).
[536] Hdt. 1.101 ff.
[537] In this famous passage the magi deceive the Persian king Cambyses.

climate of the Roman-Parthia wars. As I have shown in the first part of this chapter, in the Antonine period, renewed attention to the East developed at different levels. From the emperor Trajan onwards, the Roman empire began to challenge the Parthians more directly. The emperor initiated a policy of aggressive campaigns again the Eastern enemy, which was to be continued by his successors. This led to the development of new imperial ideology to support the political choices. The image of Alexander became central to this new ideology. The chapter has discussed how the image of the Macedonian was reconsidered and re-evaluated from the second century AD by both Greek imperial writers of the time and Greek cities of the Roman Empire. Memories concerning Alexander's Eastern campaigns were restored and claimed in this period to support the imperial propaganda and the emperors' campaigns in the East.

This new attitude towards Alexander led to renewed attention towards the age of his successors. In the second part of the chapter, I have discussed the phenomenon of the Macedonian patriotism in the Greco-Roman East, and I have shown how memories of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies were reasserted and claimed. In particular, they also became examples of military prowess; and therefore, examples to offer to the emperors for imitations, as the case of Polyaenus seems to have suggested.

In the last part of the chapter, I have focused on Appian and shown how he, too, emphasised, in his work, the age of the Successors. Appian focused on Seleucus I and presented him as an example of greatness in military achevements. I have tried to show how the historian engaged with the image of the Seleucid king and rearranged memories of his politics of conquest in order to claim him as the coloniser of the East and in particular of those territories, namely Babylon and Mesopotamia, which were the focus of the Roman emperors. Appian, thus, offered a new example for Lucius Verus to follow and to be inspired by when fighting the Parthian enemy. The claim of the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris by Appian has to be read in this context. The city still existed in the second century AD and was under Parthian control. Claiming this city and its foundation by Seleucus I would have allowed Appian to stress the greatness of the Seleucid king and its long-lasting impact in the post-Seleucid world.

5. The foundation myths of the Seleucid cities of Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok: the creation of a new cultural identity for the Syriac Christian church

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have seen how a cultural identity associated with Seleucus I and his empire was negotiated within the Greco-Roman world. We have seen how Pausanias of Antioch, Libanius, Malalas and Ps. Oppian engaged with the image of Alexander and Seleucus I when claiming the origins of Antioch and Apamea; and how Appian presented the image of Seleucus I as a possible alternative to Alexander by including the foundation story of Seleucia on the Tigris in his work. The cities' origin accounts reflect the dialogue, which existed between the images of Seleucus and Alexander in the post-Seleucid world.

In this chapter I shift the focus and look at the reception of Seleucid memories within the Syriac-speaking world. In particular, I concentrate on writers who represent the Syriac Christian Church and investigate how they appropriated and manipulated the foundation myths of the cities of Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok (meaning "the fortress of the house of Seleucus") claiming Seleucus I as a founder in order to re-shape the cultural identity of their communities. In the fifth century AD, the Syriac Christian Church of Antioch fragmented and, a few years later, it reorganised itself into two distinct and rival communities, namely the Syriac Orthodox community and the Eastern Syriac community. The cities of Edessa (North Mesopotamia) and Karka de Beth Selok (Beth Garmay)[538], both of which were founded by Seleucus I when he conquered the territory[539], became the main centres of the Syriac Orthodox community and the Eastern Syriac community, respectively.

Scholarship on Syriac Christianity has recently focused on the Syriac Orthodox community and on its process of ethnic identity formation. This gained momentum in the sixth century AD and reached a clear definition in the thirteenth century AD.[540] By considering in particular historiography and material culture produced by this Syriac Christian group, it has been shown that the Syriac Orthodox Christians elaborated their own specific ethnic identity and shaped themselves into a well-defined ethnic community. Although this group shared some similarities with other religious groups such as the Eastern Syriac Church, the Chalcedonians and subsequently the Church of Rome, it has been argued that it also worked

[538] The territory of Beth Garmay lies between Assyria and Iran; Cohen (2013), 98 locates the city specifically in Apolloniatis/Sittakene which are the Greek names used to describe the same geographical area.
[539] Cohen (2013), 70-76; 98-100.
[540] This study has been undertaken by the Leiden PIONIER project. Much has been published concerning the results. For a detailed summary of the project and the most relevant research outcomes see ter Haar Romeny, 2009(a), 1-52; ter Haar Romeny 2009(b), 327-341; ter Haar Romeny (2012), 183-204.

to differentiate itself from them.[541] In this chapter I focus on the process of cultural identity formation and argue that both the Syriac Orthodox and the Eastern Syriac community created their own individual cultural identity. I look at the works of the historians Jacob of Edessa and Michael the Syrian, the anonymous *Chronicle up to the Year 1234* (hereafter *Chronicle to 1234*), as well as the *History of Karka de Beth Selokh and the Martyrs therein* (hereafter *History of Karka*). Jacob, Michael, and the anonymous author of the *Chronicle to 1234* represent the Syriac Orthodox church, while the anonymous author of the *History of Karka* represents the Church of the East. I posit that their historiographical works allow us to throw light on the process of cultural identity negotiation and formation of both the Syriac Christian communities. I posit that these historians engaged with memories from the Hellenistic period and in particular with the Seleucid origins of Karka and Edessa as well as with the image of Alexander the Great. The aim was to construct a unique cultural identity for their own community which would have outshone that of the rival one. In order to demonstrate this, in the first part of the chapter I will focus on the reception of the Seleucid past by Jacob of Edessa and by the anonymous chronicler of Karka in the sixth and seventh centuries AD. I will analyse the historical and cultural background in which the two Syriac Christian communities came into being; then, I will demonstrate how Jacob of Edessa re-shaped the Seleucid origins of his city and claimed Alexander the Great as its founder rather than Seleucus I. I argue that Jacob's choice was made to respond to the claims of the anonymous author of the *History of Karka* and representative of the Church of the East who instead emphasised the Iranian origins of his city and community. I will show how the chronicler from Karka interpreted the foundation story of the city and presented Seleucus I, the founder of the city, as the Iranian successor of the Achaemenid Darius. The cases offered by these cities would represent another example of the creation of Seleucid civic identity in post-Seleucid times and of the juxtaposition, in this process, between Seleucus I and Alexander the Great.

In the second part of the chapter, I will, then, turn to the works of Michael the Syrian and the anonymous author of the *Chronicle to 1234*. These Syriac historians, both representatives of the Syriac Orthodox community of Edessa, lived between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a time period also known as the Syriac Renaissance. After setting out the cultural background of the period, I will demonstrate how these authors engaged and reshaped the origins of their community as presented by Jacob of Edessa. I argue that while Michael the Syrian, following

[541] ter Haar Romeny (2012) 183-184.

Jacob, preferred not to stress any particular historical or cultural connection with the Seleucid dynasty, the anonymous author of the *Chronicle to 1234* would respond by emphasising Seleucus I as the ancestor and founder of the city.

5.2 Jacob of Edessa: the making of a Macedonian civic past

Before turning to the analysis of the foundation myths of Edessa and of Karka de Beth Selok, I will set out the historical framework in which these foundation myths were claimed. In the fifth century, the Syriac Christian church fragmented as a consequence of theological controversies concerning the relationship of humanity and divinity within Christ.[542] After the Council of Ephesus, in AD 431, supporters of the outcomes of the council condemned the followers of the teachings of Nestorius (one of the many theologians of Antioch). As a result, this group was forced to migrate and it took refuge in various cities of the Sasanian Empire; here, it formed the independent Church of the East[543] which would develop through Iraq, Iran and Asia until this day.[544] This migration, we will see, influenced the presentation of the origins and cultural identity made by this community. Among the cities in which the Syriac Christian community of the East re-settled having migrated, Karka de beth Selok represents an important centre.[545] Only twenty years after these events, the second branch of the Syriac Christian church, namely the West Syriac Church or Syriac Orthodox community, came into being. It was formed by the opponents of the imperial church council of Chalcedon, which was held in AD 451. [546] Once separated from the Church of the West, this new Syriac Christian community remained geographically confined within the Roman Empire, particularly in Roman Mesopotamia where it managed to survive various persecutions.[547] The city of Edessa became the main centre of the Syriac Orthodox community and a symbol that represented Syriac Orthodox Christianity as a whole.[548] In addition, from the sixth century onwards, members of the Syriac Orthodox community began to expand into Sasanian Mesopotamia to undertake missionary activities in the area.

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[542] Debié and Taylor (2012), 155-179.
[543] Sometimes this church is also referred to as the 'Nestorian church' and its members as the 'Nestorians'. However, this label has been recently defined inaccurate and pejorative. Becker (2006); Debié and Taylor (2012) 156.
[544] Becker (2008), 1-21.
[545] Becker (2008), 7.
[546] They were also referred to as anti-Chalcedonians or Miaphysites (latinised in Monophysites). The term referred to the fact that they believed that Christ possessed one nature rather than two.
[547] Debié and Taylor (2012), 157.
[548] Segal (1970); Ross (2001), 117 ff.

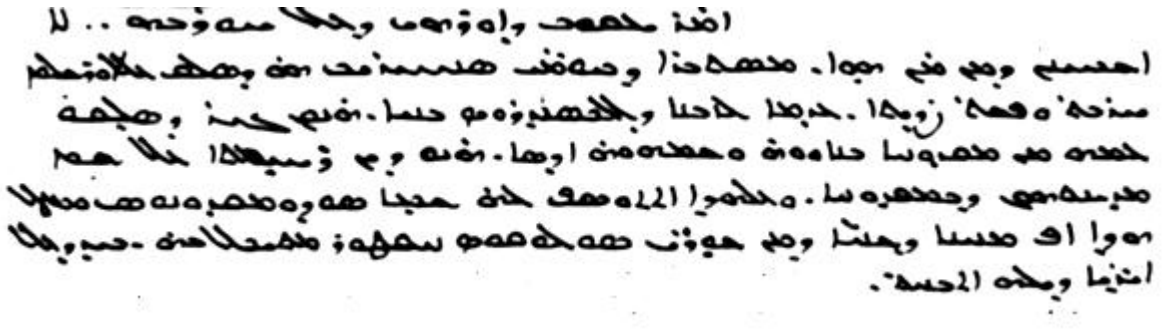
The separation of the Syriac Christian church also resulted in the development of a rivalry between the newly formed Syriac Christian communities.[549] Both the groups referred to themselves as 'the orthodox'.[550] The majority of the extant evidence of this comes from the historiography of the Syrian Orthodox community. It has been noted that Syriac Orthodox authors, such as Dionysius of Tell Mahre in the ninth century, explicitly draw a clear line between their church and the East Syriac Christians not only in terms of theological debate but also in terms of the ethnicity and identity of the two communities.[551] I argue that evidence of this rivalry can also be traced back to the beginning of the sixth century, immediately after the rupture of the Syriac Christian Church, when a new history of the Syriac Christian communities began. Evidence of this appears in the historiographical works of the anonymous hagiographer from the city of Karka[552] who composed his *Chronicle* in the sixth century AD; and in the seventh-century *Chronicle* by Jacob, the metropolitan of Edessa. The latter is commonly recognised, and was already recognised in his own time as the most distinguished among the Syriac Orthodox writers.[553]

Before proceeding further with the analysis of these works, however, another interesting point needs to be set out. This concerns the cultural self-representation of the two Syriac Christian communities before their separation. It has been noted that in the classical period of Syriac Christianity, before the fragmentation of the Church, the Syriac Christian community in Antioch used to count the years and calculate the time according to the Seleucid era rather than adopting other ways of calculating time such as the Antiochene or the Byzantine eras.[554] Seleucus I established the Seleucid era in 312 BC. Following the conquest of Babylonia, he introduced this new dating system to mark the birth of the Seleucid kingdom officially. According to Debié, this choice was made by the Syriac Christian church in order to culturally mark and differentiate itself from other Christian groups such as the Byzantines, the Armenians and the Franks.[555] After the separation of the Syriac Christian Church, the Seleucid Era continued to be used by the newly born communities. The majority of evidence concerning this persistence is found in the historiographical works of the Syrian Orthodox community (such as Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle*, and the *Chronicle to 1234*). Although

[549] Van Ginkel (2008), 360-361.
[550] Debié and Taylor (2012), 161.
[551] Weltecke (2010), 121.
[552] For a discussion on the relationship between hagiography and historiography in the Eastern Syriac literary production, see Debié (2010), 43-75;also Pigulavskeja (1963), 111-112.
[553] For more info on Jacob of Edessa and his work, Brock (1979-80); Salvesen (2008), 1-10; Witakowsky (2008), 25-48.
[554] Abel (1938), 198-213; Debié (2009), 99.
[555] Debié (2009), 102.

evidence is scantier for the East Syrian Christians whose historiographical production is not as prolific as their Western counterpart,[556] they also used the Seleucid era to date inscriptions and manuscripts.[557] As we shall see, this attachment to these cultural elements played a relevant role in the process of cultural identity definition of the two communities and it will be continuously renegotiated by them.

I will now turn to Jacob of Edessa and to the foundation myth of the city as transmitted within his work. I argue that he reshaped the Seleucid identity of the city and its foundation story according to a specific agenda, namely to respond to the Syriac Christian community of the East. As regards Jacob's *Chronicle*, this is almost completely lost to us apart from a few fragments found in a highly damaged manuscript.[558] However, we are able to read parts of it as these were transmitted by late Syriac Orthodox historians, in particular Michael the Syrian, who used Jacob's work as a source. In his *Chronicle,* Michael transmits the fragments of Jacob concerning the civic foundation myth of Edessa. Fortunately, they can be safely attributed to Jacob as Michael mentions him explicitly as the author of the passages. The first passage I will look at concerns the destruction and re-foundation of Edessa; it belongs to chapter 7 of book 17 of Michael's *Chronicle* and is part of a brief excursus on the history of Edessa from its foundation until the siege of the city in 1144 by Zengi, the Seljuk *atabeg* of Mosul and Aleppo. As regards the destruction and re-foundation of Edessa, Jacob states:

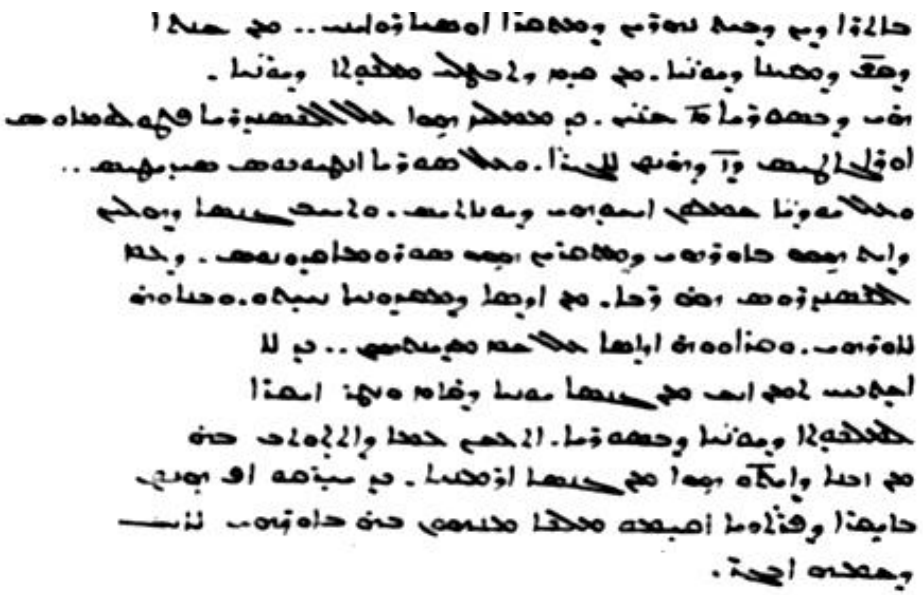


> Jacob of Edessa writes concerning its (Edessa) destruction: we did not know by whom it was accomplished; it is thought that, at the time of Sennacherib, who campaigned against Jerusalem, it was ruined and remained deserted until the age of Alexander the founder. Those who came (campaigned) with him from Macedonia re-founded it and called it "Edessa", which means "dear", after the name of their city in Macedonia. And because of that, it was added a name

[556] Debié (2010), 43-75.
[557] Debié (2009), 102.
[558] Van Rompay (1999), 269.

from the language of Macedonia. Because of this too, the era that begins with Seleucus Nicator is employed; for it was built by the care of him.[559]

The story tells us that after the destruction of Edessa at the time of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, the city remained deserted until the arrival of Alexander the Great and those who accompanied him from Macedonia. They refounded the city and named it Edessa, after the homonymous Macedonian city. At the end of the passage Seleucus I is also presented, although confusingly in comparison with the rest of the account, as the founder of the city. In fact, the focus seems to be on Alexander and the Macedonian origins of Edessa. As regards the content of the passage, Van Ginkel rightly argued that caution has to be taken in considering authors, such as Jacob of Edessa, whose works are lost to us except for a few fragments quoted by later authors. Later reinterpretations and manipulations of the fragments (made by later authors) might indeed affect our knowledge of the original lost works.[560] In this case, however, the content and the tone of the passage and its attribution to Jacob seems to be confirmed in another part of Michael's work. The story of the foundation of Edessa by Alexander and the Macedonians appear again in Chapter 5 of book 5 of Michael's *Chronicle* as part of an excursus concerning the people who revolted against Greek rule. This, we are informed by Michael, is entirely attributed to Jacob.[561] According to Jacob:



In the region of Mesopotamia called Osrhoene, in the year 180 according to the Greek era, before the dominion of the Greeks of Syria, which lasted 40 years, was destroyed, while in

[559] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, 639. I am most grateful to Prof. Paolo Bettiolo and Dr. Vittorio Berti for helping me to read and translate all the Syriac texts.
[560] Van Ginkel (1998), 351-358.
[561] Chabot, *Chronique*, trans. Vol. 1, 118; see also Van Rompay (1999), 271.

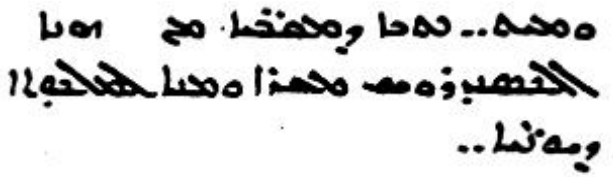
> Alexandria was reigning Ptolemy Euergetes, the seventh of the Ptolemies; in Syria, Antiochus Sidetes; and over the Jews, Simon, brother of Johnathas, perished the race of those who were in Edessa and who were called Syro-Macedonians; they had come down from Edessa in Macedonia with Alexander the Great and had rebuilt Orhoë, which they had called Edessa after their own city. As no one of Greek race could be found to maintain and grant the dignity of the empire of the Greeks of Syria, the people who had settled there in the past and who were of the race of the Arameans, prevailed: having also freed themselves from Parthian sovereignty, they established in Edessa a king among them named Abgar.[562]

According to Jacob, before the dominion of the Greeks of Syria (i.e. the Seleucid empire) collapsed, while Antiochus Sidetes was ruling Syria, the dynasty of the Syro-Macedonians who had come from Edessa in Macedonia guided by Alexander, perished. This was succeeded by new people from the race of the Arameans. In other words, Jacob, in this passage, is discussing the end of the Seleucid rule over Upper Mesopotamia and the formation of the independent kingdom of Oshroene (132 BC-244 AD), of which Edessa was the capital city.[563] Debié, when commenting on this passage and on the process of identity creation of the Syriac Orthodox community, has pointed out that the term 'Syro-Macedonians' used by Jacob in the second passage refers to Alexander and the Macedonians as well as to the Seleucids. In general, she has stated that all the historians of the Syriac Orthodox Church, from Jacob in the sixth century to Michael and the anonymous author of the Chronicle to 1234 in the thirteenth century, indistinctly claim both Alexander and the Seleucids as the Greek ancestors of Edessa and the Syriac Orthodox community.[564] I would suggest, instead, that the Greek ancestors claimed by Jacob in the seventh century are different from those referred to by the later Syriac Orthodox historians. The foundation myth of Edessa would support this point. Although in the foundation account transmitted by Jacob Seleucus is mentioned as the founder of the city (however imprecisely), and the Seleucids seems somewhat involved in the process, the focus of the foundation myth definitely seems to be more on Alexander and on the link between Edessa and Macedonia rather than the Seleucid empire. Furthermore, the terms "Syro-Macedonians" and "Greeks of Syria" seems to have been employed by Jacob to differentiate the Seleucids from Alexander rather than equate them. Jacob twice uses the term "Greeks of Syria" when he refers to the Seleucids; however, when he describes the decline of "those who were in Edessa", he calls them "Syro-Macedonians". Although this term does includes the presence of the Greeks of Syria ("Syro-

[562] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, 77.
[563] For more information on this kingdom and the role of Edessa see (Ross) 2001, 5-82; Ball (2016).
[564] Debié (2009), 96-97.

"), the Seleucids, it aims primarily, as the rest of the account on the foundation of the city would confirm, to emphasise to the reader the presence and the influence of the Macedonians and Alexander in the past of the city. The link between Edessa's past and the "Greek kings of Syria" was certainly discussed by Syriac Orthodox historians, but only later, in the twelfth and thirteen century AD, as we shall see in the second part of this chapter. Jacob, in the seventh century AD, was more interested in emphasising the figure of Alexander the Great.

Other evidence seems to suggest this. I will now turn to look at the dating system used by Jacob to date the events in his work. As mentioned above the Syrian-speaking Christians of both East and West dated events according to the Seleucid era inaugurated in 312 BC by Seleucus I. While Jacob in his work dates events according to the Seleucid Era, he seems, however, to call it the 'era of Alexander'. This is made clear in the following passages:



> The book of Maccabees marks the beginning of the empire of the Greeks and the counting of the years with Alexander.[565]

The passage comes, again, from book 5 of the *Chronicle* of Michael. It is part of a larger section which deals with the history of the reign of Alexander from his inception to his death. Although the name of Jacob does not directly appear in the passage scholars agree in attributing the section on Alexander to Jacob.[566] In the passage, Jacob tells us that the book of the Maccabees informs that the empire of the Greeks and the era of the Greeks start with Alexander the Great.

However, if one looks at the passage from the Maccabees referred to by Jacob, a different kind of information appears:

> καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ πατάξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου Μακεδόνα ὃς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ γῆς Χεττιιμ καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνεστήσατο πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκράτησεν ὀχυρωμάτων καὶ ἔσφαξεν βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ διῆλθεν ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔλαβεν σκῦλα πλήθους ἐθνῶν […] καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ αὐτοῦ

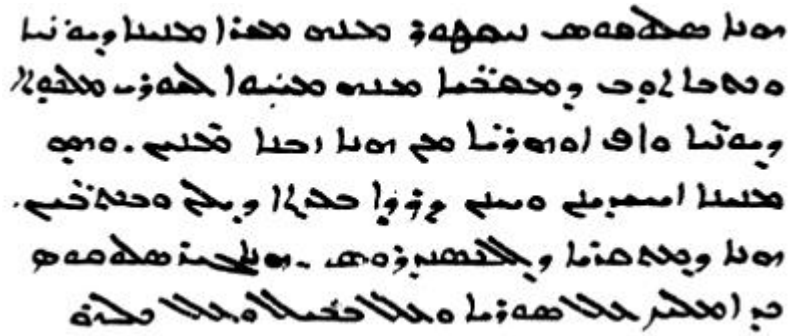
[565] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, 72.
[566] Witakowsky (2008), 34.

καὶ ἐπέθεντο πάντες διαδήματα μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ ἐπλήθυναν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλὸς Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανὴς υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως […] καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων

After Alexander son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came from the land of Kittim (Macedonia), had defeated Darius, king of the Persians and the Medes, he succeeded him as king. He had previously become king of Greece; he fought many battles, conquered strongholds, and put to death the kings of the earth; he advanced to the ends of the earth, and plundered many nations. […] Then his successors began to rule, each in his own place. They all put on crowns after his death, and so did their sons after them for many years; and they caused many evils on the earth. From them came forth a sinful root, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king; […] He began to reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks.[567]

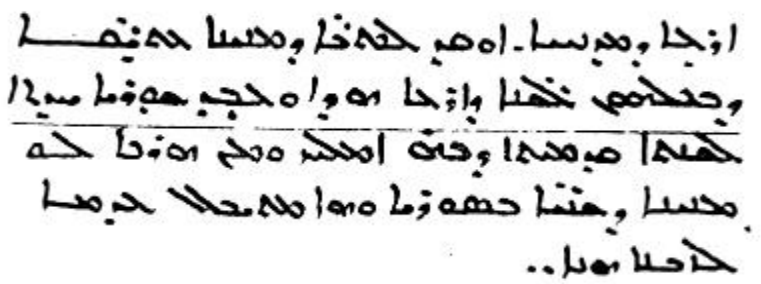
The book of the Maccabees does mention Alexander as king of Greece. However, the events are clearly dated according to the Seleucid era as the last sentence of the passage confirms. According to the text, therefore, the counting of the years and implicitly the kingdom of the Greeks, begins with Seleucus I and not with Alexander. It seems therefore that it was Jacob, in the previous passage, who reinterpreted and manipulated the information from the Maccabees. As a result of this, the era of the Greeks became the 'era of Alexander'.[568]

The fact that Jacob referred to the Seleucid era as the 'era of Alexander' may find further confirmation in another passage from Michael's *Chronicle*. According to Michael:



[567] 1 *Macc*. 1.1-10.

[568] For a nice parallel, see in Eccles et al. (2005), 262-263 the Syro-Turkic inscriptions from Zayton (today Quanzhou - China), which refer to the Seleucid era as "the reckoning of Alexander".



The era of the Greeks begins with Seleucus Nicator. According to the books of the Maccabees the empire of the Greeks begins with him. The inhabitants of Edessa also date the events according to this era; this is the dating system we use; this is used by our churches and it is found in our books, and it is called the era of Alexander. When this Seleucus began to reign over Syria, Babylonia and all the region of East, he burnt all the books of the ancient computations, in any language of that country, and brought a new era from the first year of his reign. Hence the computation of years in Syria, and it has spread until today.[569]

This passage comes, again, from book 5 of Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle*. Here, Michael informs the reader about the dating system of his community, the Syriac Orthodox Church, which was still in use during his day. He is clearly referring to the Seleucid era. He confirms the version of the Maccabees, namely that the counting of the years and the kingdom of the Greeks start with Seleucus I. He also says that they call it the 'era of Alexander'. This era, he goes on, is used by their churches and, more interestingly, is found in their books. As we have seen, Jacob of Edessa is widely recognised by both ancient authors and modern scholars as the most prominent among the Syriac Orthodox historians; in addition, his work was one of the main sources used by Michael in his *Chronicle.*[570] I argue, therefore, that Michael may have had in mind Jacob of Edessa's *Chronicle* when he mentioned those 'books', which use the 'era of Alexander'. This would further confirm that Jacob might have used the 'era of Alexander' to refer to the Seleucid era.

Interestingly, among the ancient authors who transmit the foundation myth of Edessa, Jacob is the only one who strictly links the city to Alexander and Macedonia. In fact, Greek and Latin literary sources attribute the foundation of Edessa to Seleucus I.[571] It has been widely shown that these authors were read and translated by the Syriac Christians and considered as precious sources of information for their historical works. The Syriac-speaking historians used Eusebius and Malalas in particular, and both these authors

[569] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, 73-74;
[570] Witakowsky (2007), 253-282; Hilkens (2014), 281.
[571] Appian *Syr*. 57, Pliny, *Nat.* 6.117, Malal.17.15. See also Harrak (1992), 212-213.

present Edessa as founded by Seleucus I.[572] Debié noted, in addition, that Jacob is also "the only Syriac historian who speaks of the direct Macedonian origins of Edessa".[573] The fact that the majority of authors both Syrian and Greek recognised the city as founded by Seleucus shows, I argue, that Jacob might have emphasised the presence of Alexander on purpose. This does not necessarily mean that the mention of Alexander in the foundation story of Edessa was Jacob's own invention. The episode of Alexander may come from a minor tradition. What is interesting, is that Jacob chose to emphasise the Macedonian origin of the city and link the past of Edessa and his community to him more than to the Seleucids.

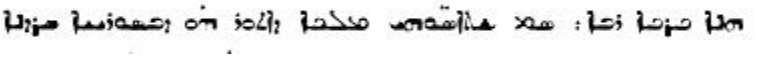
Behind this choice, I argue, was a clear agenda. In order to understand Jacob's emphasis on Alexander, we have to look at the Syriac Church of the East and see how they re-constructed their cultural identity after the migration in the Sasanian or Neo-Persian Empire. In the next section I will focus on this and look at the anonymous hagiographer from Karka de Beth Selok and at his *Chronicle*. I argue that the anonymous chronicler played on the double identity of Seleucus I (Greek and Iranian), in order to reinterpret the image of Seleucus and to present the Seleucid king as the Iranian successor of the Achaemenid Darius. The aim, I posit, was twofold: by emphasising the Iranian identity of the Seleucid king, the anonymous chronicler would have reshaped the cultural identity of the new community according to the Persian/Iranian cultural environment it was set in; on the other hand, by claiming the foundation of Karka by Seleucus, the chronicler would have demonstrated a continuation with the cultural tradition of the Syriac Christian Church.

5.3 Karka de Beth Selok and the creation of a Seleucid-Iranian identity

Let us now turn to see how the anonymous chronicler presented the foundation myth of Karka in his work.[574] He informs the reader that the city was founded firstly by the Assyrian Sardana. The king, according to the story, was fighting against the attempt made by Arbak, the king of Media, to invade the territory of Beth Garmay under Assyrian rule. The chronicler narrates that Sardana, for a better control of the area, would have founded a city, Karka, in the territory of Beth Garmay and named it after himself. After this first foundation, the city would have been refounded twice, first by Darius III and later on by Seleucus I, and renamed

[572] Malal. 17.15; Eusebius (p.199 ed. Karst). For the relationship between classical sources and Syrian historians see Witakowski (1990), 299-310; Debié (2004) 147-164; (2015), 336-337.
[573] Debié (2009), 100.
[574] Debié (2015), 19-21, on the possible identification of this author.

after the latter. Let us now look in detail at those parts of the *History* which describe the crucial moments concerning the foundation and re-foundation of the city:



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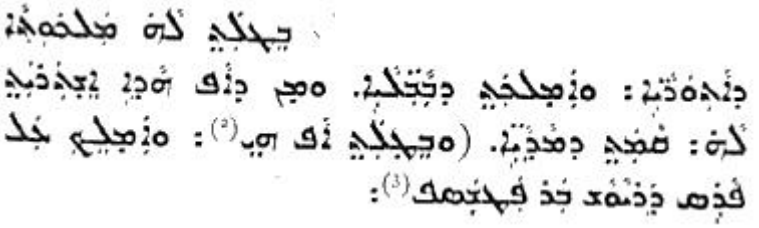

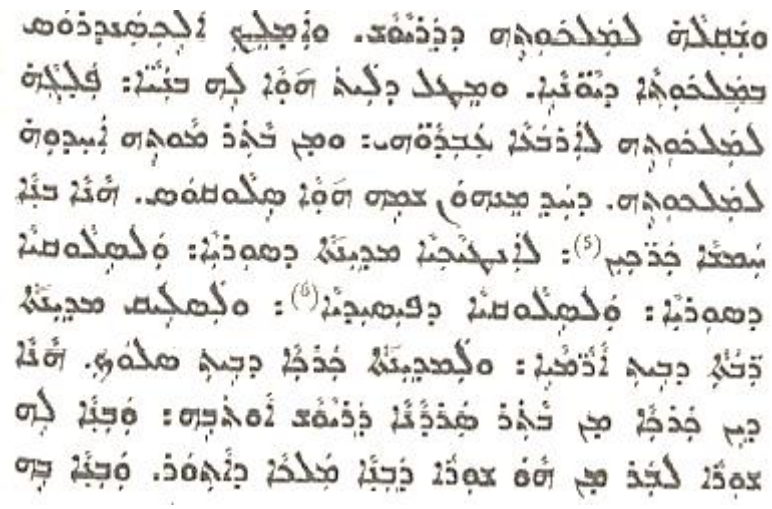

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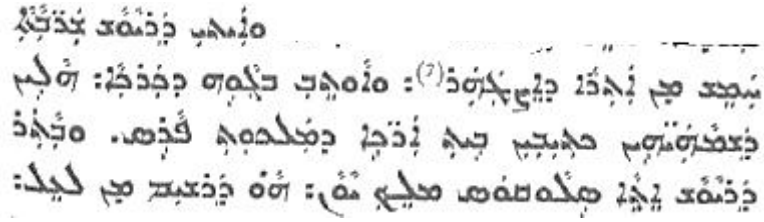

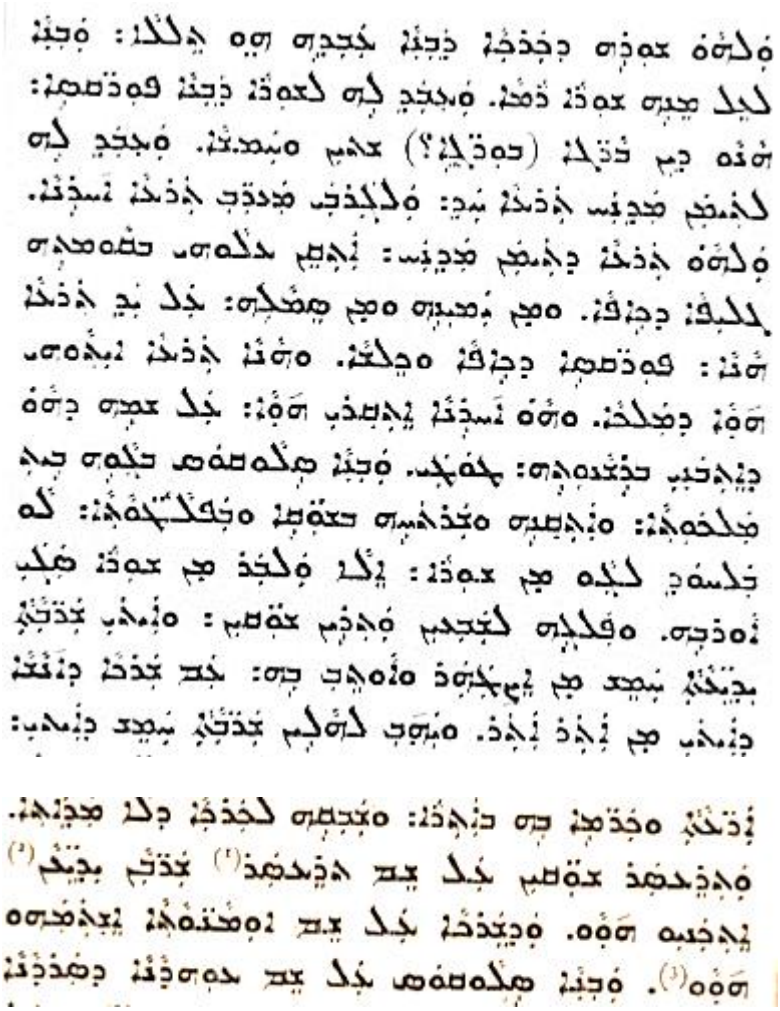

This city was founded by the king of the Assyrians, whose name in Syrian is Sardana […] Then the kingdom of the Assyrians ceased and the kingdom of the Babylonians began. And when this ended, the kingdom of the Medes followed; and when also this ended, Daryavous, son of Patshasafa reigned in Persia. […] Having sized the kingdom of Daryavous, Alexander began to rule over the kingdom of the Greeks. Because he did not have any child, he divided his kingdom among his four ministers, who, after his death, governed his empire. One of them, called Seleucus built five cities: Antioch in Syria, Seleucia in Syria, Seleucia in Pisidia, a great city Selik in Beth Aramay, and the city of Karka de Beth Selok. It is this city (Karka) that, after Sardana, Daryavous had populated; he ordered a wall to be built outside the wall that was built by the king of Assur. […] Daryavous brought with him five families from the region of Istarkh and settled them in the city. […] After Daryavous came Seleucus, the king of Greece, who has been already introduced above. He changed the old wall, which was located on a hill, and built a new one which was much higher. He enriched the wall with towers, 65 in total. One of the gates of the wall was positioned in the south-eastern side of it; the other in the north-western side of it. At the top of the latter, he erected a statue made of stone; while he flanked the same gate with two stony towers, one on the left, the other on the right. The door is named after the

> one who supervised its construction, Totay. In the centre of the city, he ordered the building of a royal palace. He enlarged the city and enriched it with roads and palaces which expanded also in the peripheries of it. He made the city splendid. He divided the city in 62 roads, he brought with him five families from Istarh and he settled them with the other people transferred from other locations. He gave these five families lands and vineyards from the territory surrounding the city […][575]

As can be seen from the passage, Karka's past presents a succession of three kingdoms: Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks. Sardana[576], king of the Assyrians, first founded the city. Then Darius III, king of the Persians, conquered the territory and re-founded the city. After Alexander killed the Persian king, and the kingdom was distributed among Alexander's successors, Seleucus I succeeded Darius and re-founded the city of Karka. Much has already been said about the Assyrians in the foundation myth and their relationship with the Syriac Christians.[577] I will focus instead on the kingdoms of the Persians and the Seleucids. As the passage explains, after Sardana had founded Karka, Darius III refounded it. The latter is described as having built a wall, houses, and a temple for the new city. In addition, families from the land of Istakhr, an Achaemenid city located in south Iran, would have been settled in the city. After Darius, Seleucus would come. He, too, is presented in the foundation myth as having built new monuments and also as linked to the same region. We will come back to this point later.

The presentation of Seleucus as connected with Darius and the Iranian world, I argue, was not accidental. The Greek tradition presents Seleucus as the Hellenistic king who, among the successors of Alexander, had a particular relationship with the Persians and the Iranian area. Malalas, in the sixth century, while narrating the mythical past of Antioch, presented Perseus, the founder of the Persians, as one of the ancestors of the Antiochenes and the Seleucids.[578] Greek imperial authors also emphasise the bond between Seleucus and Iran, which was made through the claim of the marriage of the Seleucid king with the Persian Apame.[579] That Syriac Christian writers of both East and West were aware of the classical authors is widely demonstrated. As we have seen above, they read and translated Malalas' *Chronography* in Syriac. In addition, it has been shown that at the end of the sixth century AD, monks in the

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[575] Moesinger, *Monumenta Syriaca*, ed. Vol. 2, 63 and Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, ed. Vol. 2, 507-511. See Pigulevskaja (1963), 42-43 for an exhaustive and detailed comment on the editions of the Syriac text. See also Fiey (1964), 189-222.
[576] For a discussion on Sardana's identity see Pigulevskaja (1963), 40 ff.
[577] See Becker (2008), 394-415 with bibliography.
[578] Malal. 2.12 This story has been discussed in chapter 2, sect. 2.2.2 and chapter 3, sect. 3.2.
[579] Arr, *An*. 7.4.5-6; Str. 16.2.4; Malal. 8.10. See also Ogden (2008), 116; Engels (forthcoming), 213-246.

very city of Karka undertook the translation of works of classical Greek historiographers from Greek into Syriac, thus around the time that the *History of Karka* was composed.[580] Furthermore, Becker has noted that the passage containing the foundation myth of Karka presents elements that suggest that the author had read Greek sources.[581] I argue that the knowledge of this bond between Seleucus and the Iranian area would have been used by the Eastern Syriac community to present Seleucus as the successor of Darius and, hence, in line with the ancient Empires of the East. The fact that, in the foundation account of the city, Seleucus is described as transferring new families from the Achaemenid city of Istarkh to Karka would further emphasise Seleucus' connection with Darius, and the Achaemenid Empire. The aim of this, I argue, was to fit Seleucus into the new cultural identity focused on the Eastern empires that the Eastern Christian community of the sixth century AD was shaping. As Debié and Taylor have correctly argued, for those people and groups living in the East, the Persian Empire was a continuing reality and it was perceived as a mighty empire that had never succumbed.[582] This would explain the mention of the Persian Darius as the founder of Karka. I argue that the claim of Seleucus I as the successor of the Achaemenid king in the foundation of the city was made to fulfil the same agenda.

As regards the reasons which would have prompted the community to reinterpret the image of Seleucus as such, I posit that this can be explained by the community's attachment to Seleucid cultural traditions, as demonstrated by their use of the Seleucid era. As mentioned above, before the fragmentation of the Syriac Christian church, this community counted the years and dated the events according to the Seleucid era. Thus, the Seleucid dynasty played an important role in the cultural definition of the Syriac Christian community of the East. It has been convincingly argued that the adoption of this era, rather than other dating systems symbolised a cultural attachment to the Hellenistic period by the Syriac Christian community in order to mark a sort of cultural independence from the other Christian communities.[583] For this reason, the Eastern Christians would have claimed Seleucus as the founder of their civic centre and community. It is interesting to note the important role played by Seleucus in the foundation of the city.[584] If we look again at the passage above, it can be noted that although Karka was founded by Sardana and later refounded by Darius, it was named after Seleucus. In addition, Seleucus is clearly presented as the founder who had made most effort to provide

[580] Payne (2012), 208.
[581] Becker (2008), 5.
[582] Debié and Taylor (2012), 157.
[583] Debié (2009), 100-101.
[584] On this, see also Payne (2012), 217.

Karka with the defining attributes of a city. The account informs us that the Seleucid king built the most robust wall with sixty-five towers. He also built squares, and most importantly, the city palace. In other words, it was Seleucus who enhanced Karka's civic status.

Payne argues that this foundation myth has to be read as a product of the Christian elite of Karka who aimed at engaging with the Sasanian imperial power and ideology. According to him, the Sasanians claimed, in the *Book of Kings* (sixth century AD), noble descent from the mythical Kayanian kings, recognised within the imperial narrative as the Achaemenids.[585] According to Payne, by claiming descent from the aristocracies of Assyrian, Achaemenid and Seleucid kings, the Syriac Christians in Karka would have aimed at interacting with the imperial narrative in order to define their social position and acquire "as lofty a place as possible for themselves within the Sasanian Empire".[586] Although Payne's interpretation of the foundation myth is plausible, I prefer to read the account from a different perspective. I argue that the civic foundation myth was also aimed at engaging with the Christian community of Karka and, more widely, with the Syriac Orthodox community in the wider discourse concerning the reshaping of past history and origins of the Syriac Christian communities. As said above, the *History of Karka* was written in the sixth century AD, just after the rupture of the Syriac Christian church and the creation of the Syriac Christian communities. I suggest that the aim of the anonymous chronicler was primarily to connect the origins of the Eastern Christian group to the ancient empires of the geographical area to which they had migrated, and thus to create a unique identity for his community.

The work aimed at engaging with the civic Syriac Christians could be supported by the fact that this was recited at the festival of the martyrs of Karka and, therefore, it primarily addressed the Christian community of the city.[587] Payne has noted that these stories concerning antiquity were subordinate to the representation of the Christian community and that they were written to "remind their auditors of belonging to the people of the Christians".[588] Therefore, I suggest that the mention of the civic past in the history of Karka was meant, above all, to boost the community at this event and remind it of its ancestry. In addition, it is very likely that Christians from the Syriac Orthodox community might also have taken part in this celebration. As said above, from the sixth century AD missionaries of

[585] See also Daryaee (2006), 387-393; Canepa (2010), 563-596 for a different view on this.
[586] Payne (2012), 214. On the same subject see also Morony (1974), 113-135; Decret (1979), 91-152; Brock (1982), 1-19.
[587] Payne (2012), 216.
[588] Payne (2012), 220.

the West Syriac Church began to expand into Sasanian Mesopotamia.[589] Exchanges on various levels between the two communities were likely to have happened. The claim of the past history of Karka, therefore, might have also been meant to emphasise the glorious past of the city and the community in front of representatives of the Syriac Orthodox Church and to engage with them in the discourse concerning the shaping of historical identity.-

In light of all this, let us now briefly look back at Jacob. I argue that the appropriation of Seleucus by the Eastern Christian community and his presentation within the succession of the Iranian empires would have prompted Jacob of Edessa to respond and reshape the historical identity of his community and city around the image of Alexander the Great and Macedonia. The aim was to maintain a link with the Hellenistic tradition; yet at the same time, to oppose the image of Persian Seleucus as presented by the rival Syriac Christian community. Alexander is emphasised by the Greek tradition as the one who defeated the Persian Empire. Edessa, also, was located geographically in Roman Mesopotamia where the Sasanian/Neo-Persian Empire was perceived as a real and continuous menace. Alexander, therefore, would have well represented the newly formed Syrian Orthodox community.

This presentation of the cultural identity of the Syriac Orthodox community as depicted by Jacob of Edessa changed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD. In the next section I will show how, in the period of the Syriac Renaissance, Seleucus I came to play a new role in the negotiation of identity of the Syriac Orthodox community.

5.4 The Syriac Orthodox community in the twelfth and thirteenth century AD and the revival of Seleucid identity

Before turning to look at the development of the foundation myth of Edessa in the Syriac Orthodox historiography, I will briefly set out the cultural background of the Syriac Orthodox Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As we have seen, after the fragmentation of the Syriac Christian church into the rival Syriac Orthodox community and the Church of the East a period of very prolific historical writing began. This production of historiographical works was followed by a gap of a few centuries, the tenth and the eleventh century. A renewed interest in historiography began again in the twelfth and thirteenth century. For this reason this period is referred to as the Syriac Renaissance. Although there is still much debate around the term, it is indubitable that these centuries represent a period of revival in historical

[589] Debié and Taylor (2012), 157.

writing.[590] The three greatest Syriac Orthodox universal chronicles, namely the *Chronicle* of the patriarch Michael the Syrian (twelfth century AD), the anonymous *Chronicle to 1234* and the *Chronicle* of Bar Hebraeus (thirteen century) were all written at this time. In this section I will focus on the works of Michael and the anonymous chronicler. Sources for the elaboration of these new universal histories were the works of the previous Syriac Orthodox historians such as Jacob of Edessa or Dionysius of Tell Mahre. Syriac authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries read the chronicles of their predecessors and collected material from them for the composition of their own works. In addition, they also commented critically on the content of these works. Therefore, this cultural climate brought a revision and a systematisation of the origins and past concerning the Syriac Orthodox community as presented by the previous historians as well as a reshaping of Edessa's origins.

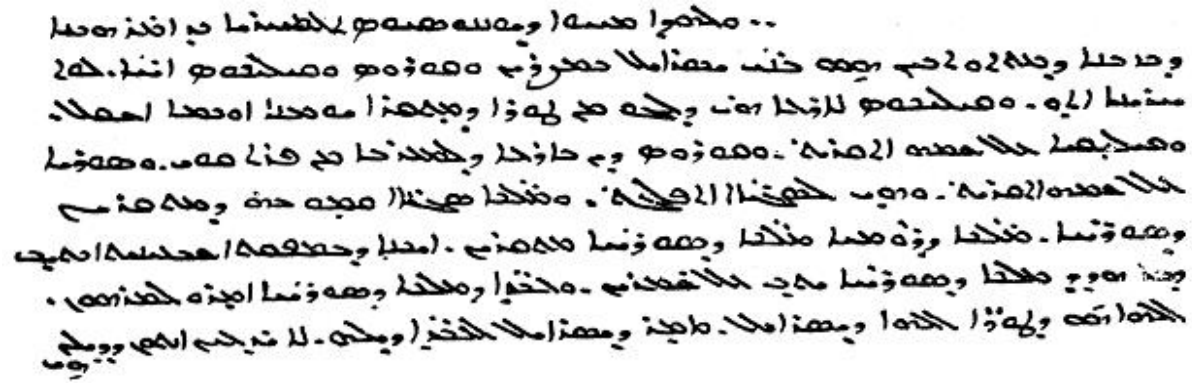
I will now turn to Michael the Syrian and his work. I will discuss in particular the second appendix to his *Chronicle* where Michael systematised the past of his community. As Michael himself states in the title of the appendix,[591] his aim was to demonstrate that his community was supported by powerful kings and empires from the past. By rearranging and manipulating the material from his sources, in particular Greek sources such as Eusebius and Josephus, but also other Syriac Orthodox historians such as Dionysius of Tell Mahre, he claimed that the Near Eastern empires of the Chaldeans and the Assyrians were ancestors of the Syrian Orthodox community because they shared the same Syrian identity, and the same language, namely Aramaic. Interestingly, as we shall see, the Seleucid kings of Syria do not seem to have been included by Michael within this scheme. I argue that this renewed emphasis on Syrian identity and the re-systematisation of the past, as focused on the Near Eastern empires triggered a response from the anonymous author of the *Chronicle to 1234*, who also claimed the Seleucid kings of Syria as ancestors of Edessa and the Syriac Orthodox community.

Let us now turn to Michael and his appendix. In order to present his community as having shared features with the empires of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, Michael revised an excursus concerning the definition of Syria from Dionysius of Tell Mahre's work (ninth

[590] For a debate on the term see Weltecke (2010), 103ff; for a study on this period from different points of view see Teule et. al. (2010).

[591] The title of Michael's second appendix to his work reads: "With the help of God we remember here the empires which had been created by our own race, the Arameans; the Arameans were the sons of Aram and were called Syrians or people of Syria. We have very attentively collected all the details about these empires from beautiful works".

century). Michael's aim was to show that his community, the Assyrians and Chaldeans, shared the same language and the same identity:



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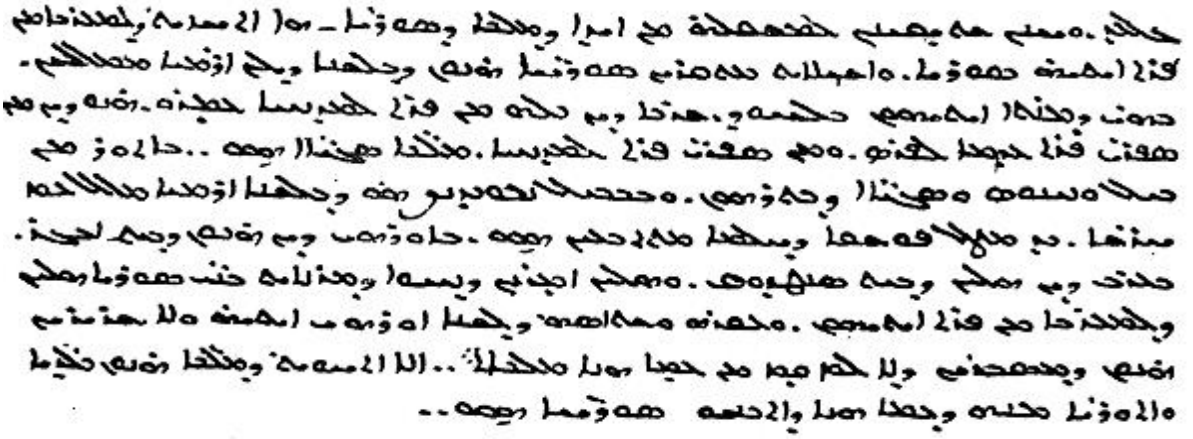
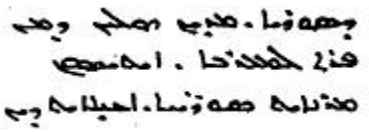


At the time when the Israelites were set in Egypt, two brothers, Syrus and Cilix, quarrelled. Cilix went into the area beyond the mountain now called Black, and this was called Cilicia after him. Syrus settled in the region west of the Euphrates, and it was called Syria after his name. […] Thus, we see that Syria lays west of Euphrates; and that one metaphorically calls "Syrians" those who speak our language to us, the Arameans, and that the Syrians are only a part of it; the rest lives east of the Euphrates, that is to say, from the banks of the Euphrates to Persia. And from the banks of the Euphrates to the east, there were many kings. In Assyria: Bel and Ninus, and their many successors; at Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, who spoke in Aramaic with magians who were summoned for the interpretation of the dream; in Edessa: the descendants of Abgar; in Arabia: those of Sanatruces. We said this to show that the "Syrians" are strictly those who are west of the Euphrates; that Edessa is the root and foundation of language (Syrian); and that are not in the right those who think that never a king stand by this people. In fact, it has been

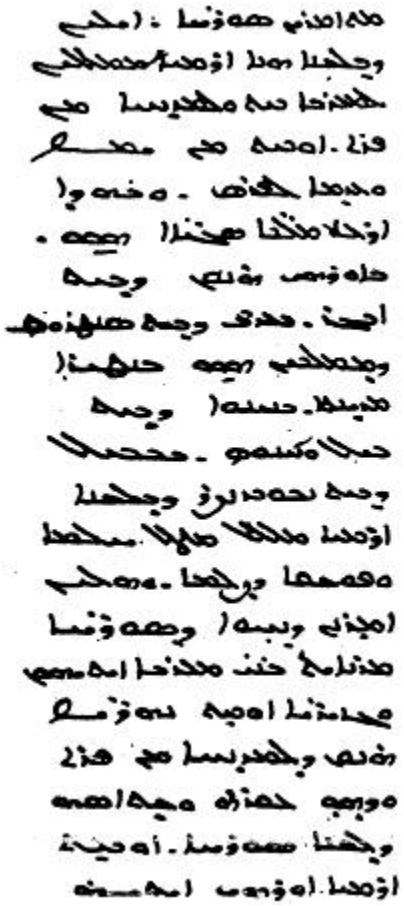
shown that the Chaldeans and Assyrians kings, who were called Syrians, belonged to this people.[592]

According to the passage there are two types of Syria. One is placed on the west bank of the Euphrates, the other on the Eastern side of it. In the passage, Michael is interested in emphasising that although 'proper Syria' is located west of the Euphrates, where the Armaeans live, the territories east of the Euphrates are, metaphorically, also Syrian. This is due to the fact that they speak the same language, namely Aramaic. Therefore, Edessa, the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, which are located east of the Euphrates found themselves sharing, on the basis of a common language, the same Syrian identity. Edessa and the Syriac Orthodox community could therefore claim to be Syrian and heir to the great empires on the basis of the language.

In writing this geographical note Michael relies on a longer excursus concerning the name of Syria written by Dionysius of Tell Mahre. I will now focus on this to see how it differs from Michael's passage. As regards Dionysius of Tell Mahre, his universal history is unfortunately lost. We read fragments of his work in from the works of the late Syriac Christian authors (Michael the Syrian, the anonymous chronicler and Bar Haebreus) who transmitted them. This excursus from Dionysius on the definition of Syria is transmitted by Michael the Syrian, and, as we will see later, by the anonymous chronicler.[593] As regards the definition of Syria, Dionysius writes:



[592] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, pp. 749-750.
[593] Hilkens (2014), 355.

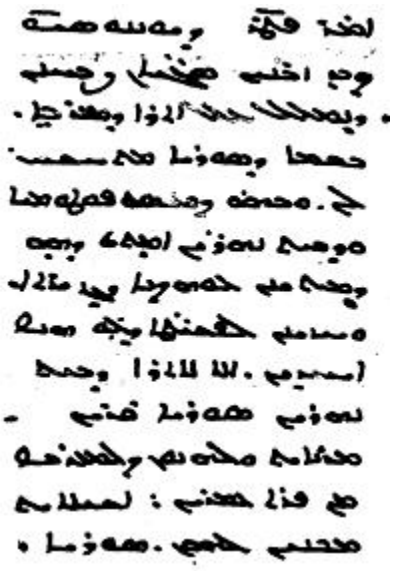


So those in the west of the Euphrates are properly Syrians, and one calls metaphorically 'Syrians' those who speak Aramaic both in the West and East of the Euphrates, that is to say from the sea to Persia. And in that region there were many kings: at Edessa, those of the family of Abgar; in Arabia, those of the family of Sanatruces, who reigned in the city of Hatra; at Nineveh, those of the family of Bel and Ninus; in Babylon those of the family of Nebuchadnezzar, who spoke the Aramaic language, as seen by the dream and interpretation of the image. We have said these things to show that the Syrians are properly those in the West, and that the Mesopotamians, that is to say, (are) those to the east of the Euphrates, and that the root and foundation of the Syrian tongue, i.e. Aramaic, is Edessa.[594]

In this passage, Dionysius confirms that people who live east of the Euphrates are Syrians, although only metaphorically, because they speak the same language of those people on the west bank of the Euphrates. The content of this passage therefore matches that of Michael. Dionysius also creates a connection between Edessa, the Assyrians, and Chaldeans on the basis of the common language, namely Aramaic. The aim of Dionysus in composing this piece, however, was different from that of Michael. Rather than being interested in emphasising that the Syriac Orthodox, Assyrian and Chaldean empires were all Syrians

[594] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, pp. 523-524.

because of the language and therefore shared the same past, Dionysius wrote this excursus in order to correct those people who wrongly define the territories East of the Euphrates as 'proper Syria'. The aim of Dionysius is made clear in the introduction to his excursus:



> Quite often when we want to talk about Western countries we use the term 'Syria' and the name 'Mesopotamia' or Beit Nahrin when we mention the Djezireh. And we see that there are simple-minded people who do not observe this, but call the land of Mesopotamia 'proper Syria' and nickname those who live in the West of the Euphrates 'Syrian' only metaphorically.[595]

Dionysius was not really interested in claiming a shared past on the basis of common origins and language,[596] but rather in making clear that only the territories west of the Euphrates could be defined as 'proper Syria'. The analysis of Dionysius' text shows, therefore, that Michael manipulated his words, by de-contextualizing them, in order to emphasise the link between his people and the Near Eastern empires. He stressed the fact that, although only metaphorically, his people were Syrians and that they shared the same linguistic identity with the Assyrians and Chaldeans. These Near Eastern empires could be claimed as ancestors of the Syriac Orthodox on the basis of a shared identity.

What is particularly interesting to note is that Michael, while re-elaborating the origins of his community, does not include the Seleucid kings among the ancestors of the Syriac Orthodox Christians . This is made clear in the following passage in which Michael is commenting on the demise of the Assyrian and Chaldean empires:

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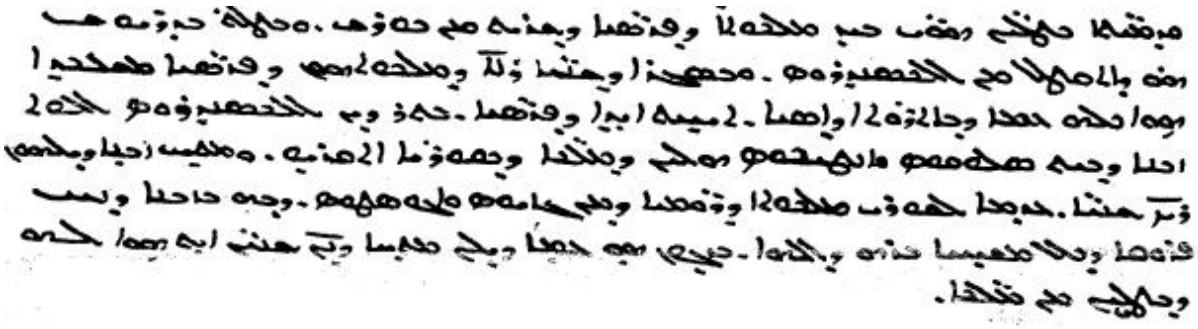
[595] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, pp. 522.
[596] Hilkens (2014), 359; see also Weltecke (2010), 121 ff. for a comment on this passage.



These ancient kingdoms (i.e. Assyrians and Chaldeans) were destroyed by the kingdom of Persia, which began with Cyrus and ends with Darius who was killed by Alexander; and, for the space of 231 years that lasted the Persian Empire, all the people of Asia were reduced under the dominion of the Persians. After Alexander, it has to be included the time of the descendants of Seleucus and Antiochus that are called kings of the Syrians. Their rule lasted for 220 years, until the beginning of the Roman Empire with Augustus and Gaius, when the Savior of the Universe, Christ son of God appeared. So there were 550[597] years that our people had no kings.[598]

According to the count made by Michael in this passage the Seleucids (and Alexander) seems to be completely excluded from the past of both the Syriac Orthodox community and Edessa. On the other hand the Seleucids are called by Michael 'kings of the Syrians'. As we have seen before, Michael defines Edessa as being 'Syrian'. In other words, according to Michael, Edessa and its community are 'Syrian', the Seleucids are kings of the 'Syrians' but they are not recognised among the kings of the Syrian Edesseans. Therefore, the 'Syrians' ruled by the Seleucids seems to be, in Michael's mind, the 'Syrians' of the territories west of the Euphrates, according to the definition of the two types of 'Syria' that Michael has discussed in the appendix. According to this, Michael perceives the Seleucids as kings of the Syrians that are placed west of the Euphrates. Therefore, the Seleucid kings were not considered to be the kings of Edessa and his community. It is interesting to note that also, when discussing the foundation myth of Edessa, Michael tends not to pay particular attention to the Seleucids. As we have seen in the previous section, Michael transmits the foundation myth of Edessa as presented by Jacob of Edessa in his *Chronicle*. Seleucus I was mentioned in the myth but the stress was on the relationship between Edessa, Alexander and Macedonia. This was probably due to the fact that Michael was primarily interested in claiming a connection between his community and the ancient empires of the Assyrians and Chaldeans.

[597] The number in Syriac could also be read as 500; in any case the Seleucids are excluded.
[598] Chabot, *Chronique*, ed. Vol. 4, 750.

I argue that the anonymous chronicler in his *Chronicle to 1234* revised this presentation of the Seleucid kings. I will show, in the following section, that while the anonymous chronicler agrees with Michael (and Dionysius) in dividing Syria into two types ('proper Syria' and 'metaphorical Syria') and in claiming Edessa as a city of Syria, he reshaped the story of foundation of the city and in his work also presented the Seleucids among the ancient kings of Edessa and the Syriac Orthodox community.

5.4.1 Re-shaping the past of Edessa in the Chronicle to 1234

It has been noted that the anonymous chronicler uses and revises the same sources as Michael the Syrian.[599] For example, one of the sources that the two authors have in common is Dionysius of Tell Mahre. The anonymous chronicler transmits, in its entirety, the same excursus on the definition of Syria from Dionysius that we find in Michael's work.[600] According to Hilkens, the anonymous chronicler and Michael would even have read Dionysius' excursus on the name of Syria from the same manuscript containing Dionysius' work. However, the scholar has also stressed the fact that the two historians would have interpreted it independently from one another.[601] I argue that the anonymous chronicler used that excursus from Dionysius because he was engaging with Michael and responding to his presentation of the past. As we have seen above, the anonymous chronicler writes in the same cultural period as Michael (the Syriac Renaissance). The anonymous chronicler accepted the division of Syria given by Dionysius (and confirmed by Michael). He states that the name the name 'Syria' is used by those who want to talk about the western regions, and also about those areas surrounding Edessa which are located between our two rivers; then, he calls those who do not observe this simple-minded . He also agrees with Michael on the fact that Edessa could be claimed as a city of Syria (although only metaphorically speaking) .[602] However, when the anonymous chronicler discusses the past of Edessa, the result is different from Michael's. Seleucus I, rather than Alexander and the Macedonians, is emphasised as the ancestor of his community.

This is made clear in the following passage from the *Chronicle to 1234* introducing the account concerning the foundation of Edessa. The passage is apparently neither transmitted by Jacob of Edessa nor by Michael the Syrian. According to the anonymous author:

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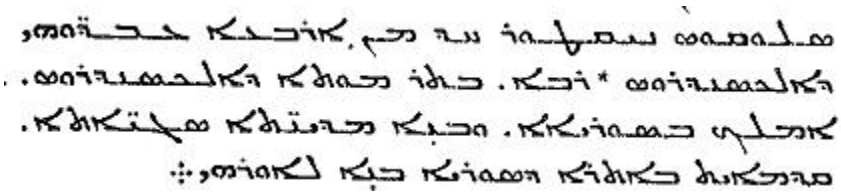
[599] Hilkens (2014), 15.
[600] Chabot, *Chron. 1234*, p. 88-90.
[601] Hilkens (2014), 359-361.
[602] Chabot, *Chron. 1234*, p. 113.



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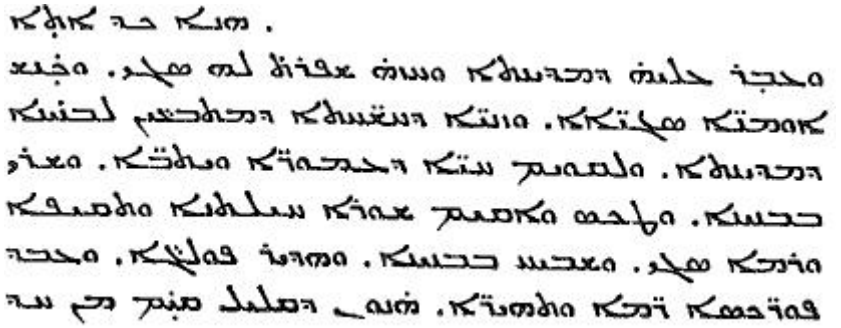
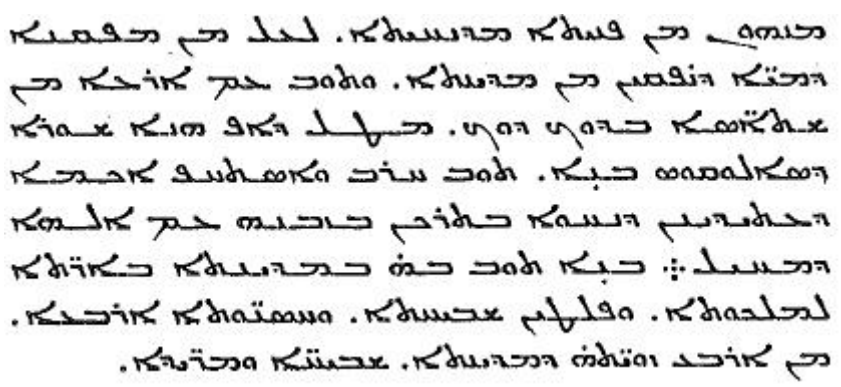
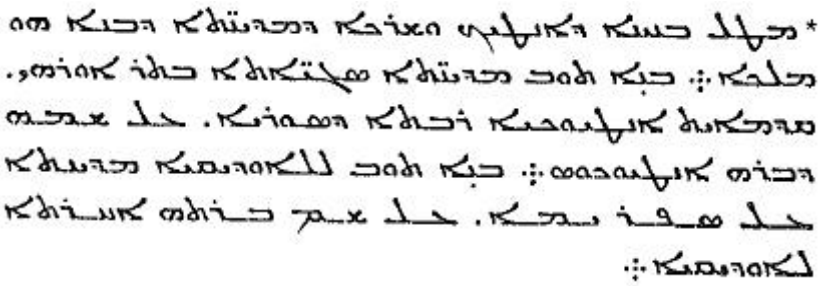




Seleucus Nicator, one of the four ministers of Alexander the Great, ruled in Syria after the death of Alexander and founded numerous cities. Firstly, in Syria, he founded Edessa […] When he arrived to this land and stopped by this city, he took a look at it and found it very pleasant; so, he collected many artisans and everything which was necessary in order to build the city and settle the inhabitants. He started to build it. He ordered the construction of strong and solid city-walls; these were to be high and built in a pleasant architectonic style with decorations for each of their sections. He also ordered the erection of high and impressive towers: remnants from one of these towers are still visible in the eastern area (of the city) and are located on the top of the sewers which carry the waters outside the city; the foundations of this tower are still visible in some parts. The city-walls built by Seleucus were later destroyed and raised to the ground, as we shall narrate later, if God allows us. Seleucus also built royal spaces and a magnificent palace in the city; four fortified rocks located at the four corners of the city were also excellently built by him […].[603]

[603] Chabot, *Chron. 1234*, p. 105-106.

The long account goes on listing the other numerous civic monuments founded by Seleucus I. Among these, temples, aqueducts, tavernas, and gardens are mentioned. In addition, Seleucus is said to have colonised the *chora* of Edessa and built villages in the areas surrounding the city. As the passage demonstrates, the anonymous chronicler presents Edessa as the foundation of Seleucus I. It seems therefore, that according to the chronicler, Edessa and the Syriac Orthodox community could claim among their ancient kings also the Seleucids. Interestingly, he particularly stresses the fact that Edessa was the first city to be founded by Seleucus I. In order to emphasise further the connection between his city and the Seleucids, the anonymous chronicler seems also to have presented Edessa on the same level as the other cities founded by Seleucus I in Syria. The following passage is placed just after the account concerning the foundation of Edessa:

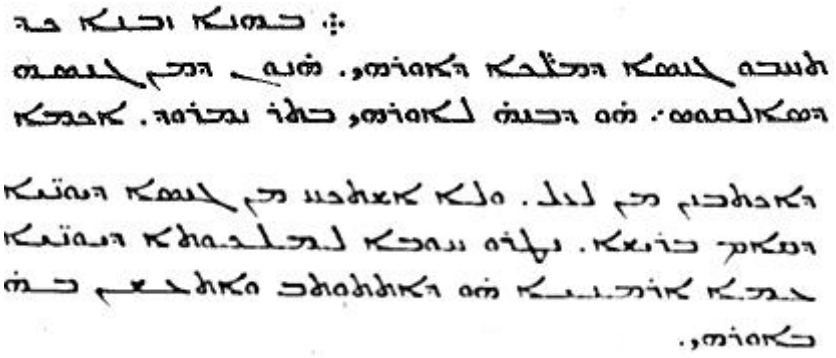


> He (Seleucus) also founded other cities after Edessa. First, Antioch the Great in Syria, named after his son Antiochus. He also founded Laodicea, on the seashore, and named it after his second daughter Laodicea. He also founded the city of Halebum, and named it after another daughter, Beroae. He also founded Seleucia the Great, named after himself. And he also founded Apamea and Kennesrin.[604]

Antioch, Apamea, Laodicea and Seleucia, the cities of the Tetrapolis of Syria, are the most important among the cities founded by Seleucus I and symbolically they represent Seleucus I and his empire. This would further show that, among the kings belonging to the past of the Syrian Orthodox, the anonymous chronicler clearly recognised also the Seleucids of Syria.

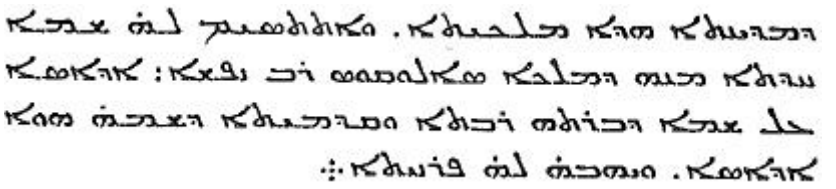
That the historian was engaging with Michael's presentation of the past of his community can be shown by looking at two other passages from the *Chronicle to 1234*. In the first one, the anonymous chronicler seems to be re-adapting the passage from Jacob of Edessa concerning the end of the Seleucid rule in Oshroene, and the beginning of the independent kingdom established by Abgar. Here is the passage as we read it in the *Chronicle to 1234*:

[604] Chabot, *Chron. 1234*, p. 107.



At that time perished the race of the kings of Edessa from the family of Seleucus, who had re-founded Edessa after Nimrud (of whom we have already spoken above), and there was not someone from the race of the Greeks who could get the rule.[605]

Although this passage clearly recalls the one from Jacob, which we discussed in the first section of the chapter, it also presents interesting differences. While Jacob (and indirectly Michael, who transmitted Jacob's fragment) emphasised Alexander and the Macedonians as the founders of Edessa, the anonymous author focuses on Seleucus I and his family. In fact, he does not mention Alexander at all. In addition, in another passage, the chronicler also provides us with a different version concerning the origins of the name Edessa. While, as we have seen, Jacob and Michael claim that the city was named after Edessa in Macedonia, the anonymous writer states:



The magnanimous king Seleucus gave a new name to the city, Edessa, after his oldest daughter who was called as such. He donated the city as dowry for the woman.[606]

Once again, the figure of Seleucus appears to play a prominent role in the foundation narrative of the city. Edessa, according to this passage, would have been named as such after the daughter of the Seleucid king. In addition, the city would have been given to the girl as a gift; hence inherited by a close descendant of Seleucus.

[605] Chabot, *Chron. 1234*, p. 119-120.
[606] Chabot, *Chron. 1234*, p. 107.

It has been noted that the anonymous chronicler frequently inserted episodes of the history of Edessa that were seemingly unknown to Michael.[607] The passage discussed above can be seen as an example of this tendency. I argue that the insertion of passages different from those of Michael represent the way in which the anonymous chronicler was responding to Michael's presentation of the community's origins. Although the anonymous chronicler seems to have accepted the claims made by Michael, namely that the Chaldeans and the Assyrians were the ancestors of the Syriac Orthodox Church, he also emphasises the Seleucid origins of the community. The foundation myth of Edessa, which he presents in his work, would support this.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how the *ktisis* discourse of the Seleucid cities of Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok was reshaped and rearranged by the Syriac Christian communities from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. The Syriac Christian Church culturally identified itself with the Seleucids. Yet, after its separation this cultural identity was renegotiated. We have seen how Jacob of Edessa overshadowed the Seleucid origins of the city and claimed instead its foundation by Alexander the Great. Writing in the seventh century AD, when the Syriac Orthodox Church had just come into being, Jacob, I have suggested, aimed at negotiating a new cultural identity for his community. Claiming the Macedonian Alexander as the founder of Edessa would have allowed Jacob to draw a line between the cultural identity claimed by the rival Church of the East and the Syriac Orthodox Christians. As regards the process of identity creation of the Syriac Church of the East, I have suggested that the anonymous chronicler from Karka, who represented the Eastern Christians, claimed the foundation of his city by Seleucus I by presenting him, in the legend, as the successor of the Achaemenid Darius. The aim of the chronicler was to emphasise the Iranian origins of his community, which were reinvented as such after the migration of the community into the Sasanian empire.

The cultural identity of the Syriac Orthodox church was reshaped once again in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when a cultural revival brought the reassessment of historical works and stories concerning the origins of the community which were narrated by them. I demonstrated how Michael the Syrian renegotiated the identity of the Syriac Orthodox Christians and emphasised the connection between the community and the empires of the Assyrians and the Chaldeans on the basis of shared linguistic features. Then, we have seen that this revised identity was further defined and enriched by the anonymous author of the

[607] Hilkens (2014), 20.

Chronicle to 1234. By presenting Seleucus I as the founder of Edessa he would have claimed the Seleucid kings of Syria and their Syrian empire, too, among the ancestors of his community.

Finally, I would like to comment briefly on the long narrative concerning the foundation of Edessa by Seleucus I, which is transmitted by the author of the *Chronicle to 1234*. The account is placed immediately after the claim that Seleucus I founded Edessa. What is interesting to note is that the narrative of the process of the foundation of Edessa is almost identical to that of Karka de Beth Selok. In both accounts, we find indeed the same sequence of actions made by Seleucus I for the creation of the city. According to both texts, Seleucus would have built walls, turrets to defend the city, gates to access it, and then a palace, temples and a main place. These foundation accounts are definitely different from those presented in the other chapters of the thesis (Antioch, Apamea, Seleucia on the Tigris), which were transmitted by Greek sources. In those accounts, the emphasis was primarily on mythological elements, while in the accounts of Edessa and Karka the mythological aspect is completely absent and the focus is exclusively on building construction. This would show how the narration of foundation stories and the contents of the stories themselves changed over time and according to the agency that transmitted them (the Greco-Roman writers or the Syriac-speaking ones).

6. Tracing other foundation stories claiming Seleucus I as the founder

In this last chapter, I will concentrate on the cities of Seleucia Pieria and Laodicea in Syria, Dura Europus in Mesopotamia, and on the suburb of Daphne. I will explore their foundation stories and the reception of them in Roman times and Late Antiquity. These settlements are all Seleucus I's foundations. Extant evidence would suggest that their foundations myths continued to circulate in the post-Seleucid world. However, since the extant evidence of these stories is very scanty and it is not always possible to contextualise it, I decided to group it in the epilogue and discuss it all together rather than in individual chapters.

Let us now turn to Seleucia Pieria and Laodicea. These two Syrian cities form, with Antioch and Apamea, the Tetrapolis of Syria. Seleucus I founded them when he conquered Syria around 301 BC. Foundation stories of these cities have been discussed, thus far, from a Seleucid perspective; in other words, scholars have investigated what these myths can tell us about the Seleucid period.[608] I will consider, on the other hand, what they can tell us about the reception of Seleucid memories in Roman times and Late Antiquity. Two versions of the foundation myth of Seleucia Pieria circulated in Roman times. The first one is briefly mentioned by Appian in the second century, while Pausanias of Antioch and Malalas narrate the second one in the second and sixth centuries, respectively. Let us first turn to Appian. The historian's reference to the foundation story of Seleucia Pieria is contained in his *Syriaca*. It belongs to the long excursus dedicated to Seleucus I[609] and it immediately precedes the narration of the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris. According to Appian:

> φασὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς Σελευκείας οἰκίζοντι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, διοσημίαν ἡγήσασθαι κεραυνοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸν αὐτοῖς κεραυνὸν ἔθετο, καὶ θρησκεύουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι καὶ νῦν κεραυνόν.
>
> They say that when he (i.e. Seleucus) was about to build the two Seleucias a portent of thunder preceded the foundation of the one by the sea, for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place. Accordingly, the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day.[610]

According to Appian, when Seleucus was about to found Seleucia Pieria, a thunderbolt appeared from the sky. Because of this portent, Seleucus would have consecrated a cult of the thunder. This possibly refers to the cult of Zeus Ceraunus ("of the thunderbolt"). Hesychius,

[608] See, for example, Ogden (2011a), 150; (2011b), 89-95; see also Ogden (2015), 138-140.
[609] The excursus has been examined in detail in chapter 4, sect. 4.4..
[610] Appian *Syr*. 58.

the lexicographer, informs us that this Zeus was worshipped in Seleucia.[611] According to Appian, this cult was still adhered to in his own days. Numismatic evidence seems to support this statement. The image of the thunderbolt frequently appeared depicted on obverse types on the coins of Seleucia Pieria minted in the imperial period.[612] In addition, it is interesting to note that coinage from Seleucia dated to the Hellenistic period presents a similar iconography. From 301 BC the city minted coins with the head of Zeus as obverse type and an eagle on thunderbolt as a reverse.[613] This seems to suggest that the cult originated in the Hellenistic period.

Unfortunately, the passage quoted above is the only mention of the foundation myth of Seleucia Pieria in Appian. It is certainly possible that this episode was part of a wider foundation *ktisis* of the city.[614] Two possible reasons, I suggest, may have prompted Appian to include this information concerning the origins of Seleucia in his narrative. Firstly, Appian may have mentioned the episode to inform his reader of the origins of the thunder cult in Seleucia Pieria which was still practiced in his own day. Secondly, his choice may have been determined by stylistic reasons. As mentioned above, the story concerning the origins of Seleucia is placed by the historian after the narration of the omens related to Seleucus I[615] and immediately before the section where he discusses the foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris. Since the story of Seleucia Pieria contains both a detail concerning an omen (i.e. the thunder, which would have appeared to Seleucus I), and one concerning the foundation of a city (Seleucia Pieria indeed), I tentatively suggest that Appian may have briefly mentioned the story concerning Seleucia Pieria to connect the two sections of his narrative and thus to shift smoothly from one topic (Seleucus' omens) to another (Seleucus' colonial activity in the East). Nonetheless, Appian seems to have been more interested in focusing on the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris than on that of Seleucia Pieria.

Pausanias of Antioch and Malalas transmit the other version of the foundation myth of Seleucia Pieria. The story belongs to book 8 of Malalas' work. It is part of a wider section of text, which collects all the foundation myths of the Tetrapolis and creates a sort of anthology on the origins of the four Seleucid cities (for the full text see appendix I). The foundation

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[611] Hesych. s.v. Ceraunus:· ἐμβρόντητος. καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ. καὶ ἱμάτιον ποιόν.
[612] For evidence of this see *BMC Galatia*, p. 273, n. 32 (Augustus); 274, n. 35 (Trajan); 275, n. 46 (Antoninus Pius); 276, n. 52; 56 (Caracalla).
[613] Newell (1941), p. 86-88, nos. 894, 896-899 plate XV; Mørkholm (1991), no. 154; Seyrig (1939), 296-301; Rigsby (1980), 235-236; Brodersen (1989), 163-165; Cohen (2006), 128-134; Gukowsky (2007), 155-156; Ogden (2011a), 218; De Giorgi (2016), 144-148.
[614] See chapter 3 for a discussion of Seleucid *ktisis*-literature and its contents.
[615] See chapter 4, sect. 4.4 for a discussion on this.

myth of Seleucia Pieria is the first to be mentioned, before the stories concerning the foundations of Antioch, Laodicea and Apamea:

> ὁ δὲ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν νίκην ᾽Αντιγόνου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ, βουλόμενος κτίσαι πόλεις διαφόρους, ἤρξατο κτίζειν πρῶτον εἰς τὴν πάραλον τῆς Συρίας. καὶ κατελθὼν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν εἶδεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κειμένην πόλιν μικράν <ἥτις ἐλέγετο Παλαῖα πόλις>, ἥντινα ἔκτισε Σύρος ὁ υἱὸς ᾽Αγήνορος. τῇ δὲ κῡ̄ τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἀπριλίου μηνὸς ἦλθε θυσιάσαι εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Κάσιον Διὶ Κασίῳ, καὶ πληρώσας τὴν θυσίαν καὶ κόψας τὰ κρέα ηὔξατο ποῦ χρὴ κτίσαι πόλιν· καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἥρπασεν ἀετὸς ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας καὶ κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν πόλιν · καὶ κατεδίωξεν ὀπίσω Σέλευκος καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὀρνοσκόποι, καὶ ηὗρε τὸ κρέας ῥιφὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κάτω τῆς παλαιᾶς πόλεως ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τῆς λεγομένης Πιερίας. καὶ περιχαράξας τὰ τείχη εὐθέως ἔβαλε θεμελίους, καλέσας αὐτὴν Σελεύκειαν πόλιν εἰς ἴδιον ὄνομα.
>
> Immediately after the defeat of Antigonus Poliorcetes, Seleucus Nicator wanted to found prestigious cities, so began building at first on the coast of Syria. And going down along the seashore he saw a small city situated on a mountain, which Syrus, the son of Agenor, had founded which was called Palaiopolis. On the 23rd of Xanthicus he went to make a sacrifice to Zeus Casius on Mt. Casius, and having completed the sacrifice and chopped up the meat he prayed for whatever was necessary for founding a city. And suddenly an eagle seized some of the sacrifice and carried it off towards the old city. Seleucus and the augurs accompanying him discovered the meat thrown down near the sea, below the old city in the trading-station of the place called Pieria. He immediately marked out the walls and laid foundations, calling the city Seleucia after himself.[616]

As the passage shows, the story presents different details from those sketched by Appian. The episode of the thunderbolt is not mentioned[617]; on the other hand, an eagle appears. The latter seems to lead the narrative; it would have descended from the sky while Seleucus was making a sacrifice, and, after snatching parts of the sacrificial meat, would have guided Seleucus to the right place for the new foundation.

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[616] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.11.

[617] Zeus Casius, rather than Zeus Ceraunus in mentioned. This was worshipped on Mt. Casius which is located in the proximity of Antioch. It is interesting to note that this god is to some extent connected with the thunderbolt, too. A passage from the *Historia Augusta* informs us that when the emperor Hadrian went to Mt. Casius to sacrifice, a flesh of lightning struck both him and the sacrificial victims (*Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 14.3: sed in monte Casio, cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset, imbre orto fulmen decidens hostiam et victimarium sacrificanti adflavit). See also Cass. D. 69.2.

The details of the thunder from Appian and the eagle from Pausanias/Malalas might not necessarily be mutually exclusive. The two of them may have both been part of a wider foundation myth of Seleucia Pieria. The authors who transmitted them, in this case Appian, Pausanias and Malalas, may have simply decided to highlight some details and overshadow others.[618] In the case of Appian, the omen detail may have been highlighted because of stylistic needs, as suggested above; while the eagle may have been chosen as it fitted better in the whole narrative concerning the Tetrapolis. On the other hand, it is also possible that Pausanias or Malalas may have revised the myth of Seleucia Pieria and added the episode concerning the eagle themselves. The eagle episode appears suspiciously in all the foundation stories of the four cities of the Tetrapolis treated in this section of Malalas' book. In addition to Seleucia Pieria, the eagle guides Seleucus I through the foundation of Antioch, Laodicea, and Apamea, too. The Antiochene authors may have added this recurrent according to a certain agenda, perhaps to integrate the foundation stories of Seleucia, Laodicea, and Apamea with that of Antioch. The latter clearly receives more attention and is treated in more detail than the others. However, it is interesting to note that under Caracalla, Seleucia Pieria minted tetradrachms bearing as obverse type the image of an eagle standing on thunderbolt (Fig.28).[619] This iconography seems to merge together the detail from the account in Appian and the one from Pausanias and Malalas. Therefore, the eagle episode and the thunderbolt detail might indeed be part of a wider foundation narrative of Seleucia.

Figure 28: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_seleukiaPieria_AR4Drachm_Bellinger_076.txt

Let us now turn to the foundation myth of Laodicea as transmitted by Pausanias and Malalas. The main narrative of the myth is again focused on the eagle episode; yet, other interesting details seem to emerge:

> ἔκτισε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ καὶ ἄλλην παραλίαν πόλιν ἐν τῇ Συρίαι ὀνόματι Λαοδίκειαν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρός, πρώην οὖσαν κώμην ὀνόματι Μαζαβδάν, ποιήσας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος θυσίαν τῷ Διί καὶ αἰτησάμενος ποῦ κτίσει τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν ἀετὸς πάλιν, καὶ ἥρπασεν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας· καὶ ἐν τῷ καταδιώκειν αὐτὸν τὸν ἀετὸν ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ σύαγρος μέγας ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ καλαμῶνος, ὅντινα ἀνεῖλεν ᾧτινι κατεῖχε δόρατι. καὶ φονεύσας τὸν σύαγρον καὶ σύρας τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ διεχάραξε τὰ τείχη, ἐάσας τὸν ἀετόν. καὶ οὕτως τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἔκτισεν.

[618] See Mac Sweeney (2015), 7-10 who argues for the possibility of different versions of one myth to co-exist in dialogue.
[619] http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caracalla/_seleukiaPieria_AR4Drachm_Bellinger_076.txt

> Seleucos Nicator also set up another city on the coast of Syria, named Laodicea after his daughter, which was formerly a village called Mazabdan. He made the customary sacrifice to Zeus, and when he asked where to build the city, an eagle came again and snatched some of the sacrifice. In his pursuit of the eagle he encountered a huge wild boar who was coming out of the reeds and killed him with the spear he had in his hand. Having killed the boar, he marked out the city walls with its blood by dragging its carcass, and ignored the eagle. And so, he built the city on top of the boar's blood […].[620]

The story tells us that Seleucus, while following the eagle that was guiding him to the place of the new foundation, encountered a boar. Thus, he ignored the eagle and focused on the boar instead. After killing the beast, the Seleucid king marked the wall of the new city with the animal's blood. Unfortunately, this text is the only extant evidence of the foundation story of Laodicea.[621] Scholars have tried to disentangle various elements of the story. It has been suggested that the presence of the boar and chase by Seleucus in the foundation myth of the city may be linked to the goddess Artemis.[622] Under Augustus, Laodicea issued bronze civic coins bearing the head of Artemis as obverse type and the head of a boar as reverse type.[623] In addition, it is very likely that the goddess was worshipped in Antioch. Its cult seems to be connected in particular with Seleucus himself. Pausanias the Periegete very briefly informs us that Seleucus had installed in Antioch the statue of Artemis of Brauron after having found the statue in Susa.[624] This relationship between Seleucus and the goddess was still remembered in the second century AD, when descendants of Seleucus are reported among the priestesses of Artemis.[625] The fact that Artemis was so important for Laodicea might have influenced the elaboration of the city's foundation story. The boar may be interpreted as a sign sent by the goddess to guide Seleucus. It is interesting to note that, although the eagle appears in the story, it is definitely the boar that guides Seleucus to the new foundation.

The next city I will look at is Dura Europus. No literary sources narrating myths concerning the foundation of the city have survived. The identity of the founder of Dura is also uncertain. Yet, it seems that in the post-Seleucid world the city claimed its Seleucid identity, in Roman times, by emphasising Seleucus I as its founder.

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[620] *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.18 (Thurn).
[621] Tcherikover (1927), 62; Grainger, (1990b), 48–49; Cohen (2006), 111-116.
[622] Mouterde (1969), 458; Chuvin (1988), 103; 106; Garstad (2011), 686; Aliquot (2015), 157-168; see also Chuvin (1988), 103 and 106; Garstad (2011), 686.
[623] *BMC Galatia*, p. 249, nos. 21-23; see also *SNG Copenhagen, Syria*, nos. 319, 336.
[624] Paus. 3.16.8: "The image of Artemis at Brauron was brought to Susa, and after that Seleucus delivered it to the Syrians of Laodicea, who still have it".
[625] *IGLS* IV, 1264 (AD 116/7); see also *IGLS* IV, 1263 (AD 115/6) with Cohen (2006), 114, n.15; Aliquot (2015), 162.

As regards the founder of Dura, the only explicit mention of him comes from a very short passage from Isidore of Charax' *Parthian Stations*:

> ἔνθεν Δοῦρα, Νικάνορος πόλις, κτίσμα Μακεδόνων, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Εὔρωπος καλεῖται.
>
> Then Dura (comes), the city of Nicanor, foundation of the Macedonians, called Europus by the Hellenes.[626]

According to Isidore, the founder of Dura was not Seleucus but Nicanor. Scholars have thoroughly discussed the identification of the latter and put forward some different possible alternatives concerning his identity. The first hypothesis suggests that Nicanor represents a spelling error for Nicator (i.e. Seleucus I);[627] the second and third hypotheses connect Nicanor to the Antigonid dynasty, defining him as either a general of Antigonus I Monophtalmus or an officer of his son, Demetrius I Poliorcetes;[628] the fourth hypothesis identifies Nicanor with one of the nephews of Seleucus I, who was appointed as the governor of Mesopotamia under Seleucus I and founded Antioch-in-Arabia.[629] Finally, the last hypothesis suggests that Nicanor represents another surname of Seleucus I. This is based on a passage from Appian's *Syriaca*, where the Egyptian historian discusses the possible origins of Seleucus' surname Nicator.[630] This hypothesis suggests therefore that Seleucus I can be considered as the founder of Dura. I will come back to discuss the identity of the founder of Dura later.

Figure 29: Rostovtzeff (1935), 64

Regardless of the real identity of the founder, it appears clear that in the second and third centuries AD Seleucus I was claimed as the founder of Dura. Let us now turn to analyse the evidence of this. The famous relief from the temple of the Gadde provides the first one.[631] The relief is dated to AD 159.[632] The scene on the relief depicts three standing figures (Fig.29). On the left, the Palmyrene dedicant of the relief is represented wearing a priestly tiara; in the centre of the scene is the

[626] Isid. Char. 1; with Chaumont (1984), 63-107; Leriche (2003), 174-176.
[627] Chaumont (1984), 90; Kosmin (2011), 56.
[628] Tarn (1966), 7; Billows (199), 410; Brodersen (1989), 116; Grainger (1990a), 96-98; Carsana (1996), 101-102; Goukowsky (2007), 148.
[629] Rostovtzeff (1938), 102-104; Cohen (2006), 156-157; 163 who base their assumption of two passages, one from Pliny, one from Malalas. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 6.117; *FGrHist/BNJ* 854 F10 = Malal. 8.11.
[630] Primo (2011), 182; App. *Syr*. 57 with Brodersen (1989), 143.
[631] Torrey (1939), 278; Cohen (2006), 163-164; For a discussion on the history of the temple and religious activities there see Dirven (1999), 99-127.
[632] Rostovtzeff (1939), 282; Kosmin (2011), 56.

Gad or Tyche of Dura; he is seated on a throne and flanked by eagles. The third figure situated on the right is Seleucus I; he is wearing a diadem and holding a sceptre and he is crowning the Gad of Dura Europus. The name of Seleucus, written in Palmyrene, appears on label accompanying the relief.[633]

It is interesting to note that a similar representation of Seleucus I in the company of the city's Tyche also comes from the city of Antioch in Syria. The first evidence is presented by the Paseria relief (end of the second - beginning of the third century AD), which has been discussed in detail in chapter 2 of this thesis.[634] The second evidence concerns a statuary group erected by the emperor Trajan and placed in the theatre at Antioch in AD 115. Information of this group is provided by Malalas.[635] He informs us that the group presents the founder of Antioch, Seleucus I and his son, Antiochus I, crowning the city's tyche. This imagery recalls the scene from the relief from the temple of the Gadde where, as we have seen, Seleucus was crowing the Gad. The erection of the group by Trajan was clearly meant to celebrate the Seleucid founder of the city and his kin. The evidence from Roman Antioch would suggest that the relief from the temple of Gadde might also have been intended to celebrate Seleucus I as the founder of Dura.

A parchment dated to AD 180 provides other evidence of Dura's interest in Seleucus I. The well-known document is a contract recording the sale of a slave.[636]

The document is dated according to the year of the Roman consuls, the year of the ruling emperor, and interestingly according to the Seleucid era. In addition, the parchment is also dated according to four priesthoods, namely that for Zeus, Apollo, and then the priesthood for the *progonoi* (which indicates the dynastic cult of the ancestors, i.e. the Seleucid dynasty), and for Seleucus I.[637] The latter might suggest the existence of a cult of the founder in post-Seleucid Dura.[638] If so, Seleucus I, would have been regularly celebrated, in second-century AD Dura, as the founder of the city.

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[633] For a detailed analysis of the relief and its value see Dirven (1999), 99-127.
[634] Chapter 2, sect. 2.2.3. Here, Seleucus and the Tyche of Antioch are represented together; Seleucus, however, is not crowning her.
[635] Malal. 11.9.
[636] *P. Dura* 25, ll. 1-4.
[637] The text from the parchment as well as the mention of the four priesthoods has been investigated in detail by Rostovtzeff (1935), 56-66.
[638] Kaizer (2009), 164-166; Kaizer (2015), 97-99.

More explicit evidence of this tendency comes from a papyrus.[639] The document, dated to AD 254, is very fragmentary; yet it is possible to read an interesting section of it:

κολωνεία Εὐρωπ[αίων Σελεύκου] Νεικάτορος

Colony of the Europeans of Seleucus Nicator. [640]

The line clearly states that in the third century AD the city presented itself as a foundation of Seleucus I. As regards the reasons that may have prompted Dura to claim a Seleucid identity in the second and third centuries AD, I suggest that these may be found by looking at the historical events of the time. It is interesting to note that Dura Europus was captured by the Romans, in AD 165, and annexed to the Roman Empire. Until this time, the city had been under Parthian control.[641] The shift of power might have prompted Dura to renegotiate its cultural identity within the new Roman world.

In light of this, I would like to go back to the debate concerning the founder of the city, and to comment very briefly on the identity of the founder. As we have seen, Isidore of Charax names Nicanor as the founder of Dura. Although it is very possible, as scholars suggest, that either Isidore mistook the names, or that Nicanor was just another surname of Seleucus I, it may also be possible, I posit, that both were considered as Dura's founders, Nicanor being the historical founder while Seleucus a later addition. The possibility that a Nicanor founded the city in the Hellenistic period; and that later, in Roman times, the city re-invented its past and claimed Seleucus I as the founder cannot be entirely excluded. If one takes into account the cultural background of the second and third centuries AD,[642] which saw the Greek cities of the Roman East reinterpreting and reinventing their past, the choice made by Dura may not seem so strange. Claiming Seleucus I as founder would have certainly given the city more prestige than the claim of Nicanor. Unfortunately, no written foundation stories exist to enrich this scenario further.

The last foundation myth I will briefly discuss in this chapter is that of Daphne, the famous suburb of Antioch.This account does not properly concern the foundation of the suburb itself; rather, it narrates the story of the erection of the famous oracular shrine of Apollo in Daphne

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[639] Kosmin (2011), 57.
[640] *P. Dura* 32, ll. 4-5.
[641] Millar (1993), 467-471; for an overview on Dura Europus under Parthian and Roman rule see, for example, Arnaud (1986), 135-155; MacDonald (1986), 45-68; Millar (1993), 445-452; (1998), 473-492; (1998/2006), 406-431; Sartre (2005), 194-197; Pollard (2007), 81-102; Ruffing (2007), 299-411; Kaizer (2015), 91-102; Gregoratti (2016), 16-29.
[642] The cultural framework of this period has been thoroughly discussed in chapters 2-4.

by Seleucus I.[643] The story is transmitted by Libanius in his *Antiochicus* and it forms a sort of appendix to the long origin myth of the Seleucid city.[644] For this reason, I decided to include it in this chapter and comment on it briefly. According to the account, which is very long and detailed, Seleucus I was hunting in Daphne when his horse suddenly stopped in front of a tree. The animal hit the ground with his hoof and an arrowhead appeared. A legend engraved on it revealed Phoebus (Apollo) as its owner. The god, after discovering that his beloved Daphne had become the tree (where Seleucus' horse stopped), shot his arrows in anger; the tip of one broke and ended up hidden in the ground. After Seleucus lifted the arrowhead and realised that Apollo was its owner, a serpent suddenly appeared and quickly started to move toward the king. The animal's traits, however, were mild and benevolent, and this convinced Seleucus that the god was still present in the place. Therefore, he laid out a sacred precinct and provided the area with trees and a temple. Libanius is, unfortunately, the only literary evidence to transmit this foundation myth at length.[645] It is likely that the Antiochene rhetor included the story in his work to emphasise the prestige of the temple of Apollo, which still existed in his own day, and celebrate its founder.

Coinage from second-century AD Antioch might provide other evidence of this foundation account. Under Antoninus Pius bronze civic coins were issued bearing the image of Daphne transforming into a laurel as reverse type[646]. As Butcher noted, this type appeared for the first time in this period[647]. The type seems to hint at the foundation story as narrated by Libanius. If we consider the imagery on the coin to refer to the literary myth than it could be argued that the story concerning the foundation of the shrine of Apollo by Seleucus was already circulating in the second century AD. This is very likely and it perhaps was part of the revival of foundation stories under the Antonines which has been examined in the previous chapters.

[643] For a history of the shrine and its importance see in general Downey (1961), 82-85; Fatouros and Krischer (1992), 131-137; Cabouret (1997), 1014-1015; Andrade (2013), 37-65; De Giorgi (2016), 150-162.
[644] Lib. *Or.* 11.94-100.
[645] See also Just. 15.4.8 who acknowledges that Daphne was founded by Seleucus I; Malal. 8.18 with commentary in chapter 3, sect. 3.2.
[646] Butcher (2004), 369; pl. 12 n.343c with image.
[647] Butcher (2004), 302.

7. *Excursus*
Antiochus III and the re-foundation of Lysimachia in Thrace: Polybius and the reception of the foundation myth of a Seleucid city

7.1 Introduction

In this excursus I will concentrate on the narrative concerning the re-foundation of Lysimachia in Thrace by Antiochus III. According to the story, Antiochus, after arriving in Thrace, went to Lysimachia and, seeing the city completely destroyed, decided to rebuild it. This story is transmitted by Livy and Appian who read it in Polybius.[648] Paul Kosmin has argued that the account is a surviving fragment of an official foundation narrative elaborated at the Seleucid court and that it can be compared to the foundation accounts of the Seleucid Tetrapolis, Karka de Beth Selok and Seleucia on the Tigris.[649] I agree with him as the general tone and style of the account resembles that of the other foundation narratives. For this reason, I will include the episode in my work. However, I will consider it in a separate excursus for three reasons: firstly, the Seleucid king who acts in this account is Antiochus III and not Seleucus I as we have seen in the main chapters of this work; secondly, the story does not describe the foundation of a new Seleucid city, as it was instead the case with Antioch, Apamea, Seleucia on the Tigris and Karka, but a re-foundation of a previous settlement; and finally, the city treated here, Lysimachia, is located in Thrace rather than in the Roman Near East. Lysimachia was founded by Lysimachus in 309 BC after he had conquered the area with the intention of creating a bulwark against the Thracian threat.[650]

In what follows I will look at the reception of the story within later literary sources. In particular, I will focus on Polybius' reception of the foundation account. Although I will discuss, when necessary, the other sources which transmit the story, namely Livy and Appian, I wish here to examine why Polybius included the account in his *Histories* and whether this had a specific role in the wider narrative concerning Antiochus III. My contention is that the story concerning the re-foundation of Lysimachia was inserted by Polybius according to a specific agenda. Scholars have demonstrated how Polybius in his work reflects on the idea of imperialism and presents explicit *paradeigmata* of positive and negative rulers; the former type is represented by those who treat their subjects and allies with clemency and humanity; the latter, on the other hand, by those who rule by force. In this chapter, I will build on this approach and show that Polybius presented Antiochus III as another example of a proper

[648] I will discuss this point in detail later, in the second section of the excursus.
[649] Kosmin (2014), 211: "Fragments of official court foundation narratives survive for seven Seleucid colonies: each of the Syrian Tetrapolis, Kirkuk, Seleucia-on-theTigris […], and Lysimachia […]"; see also 215; 91.
[650] App. *Syr*. 1 with Cohen (1996), 83; on Lysimachus and his foundations see also Landucci Gattinoni (1992); Lund (1992); Franco (1993).

ruler. I argue that the foundation myth of Lysimachia was included by Polybius according to this purpose and has to be read in light of similar passages in which Polybius highlights the positive attitude of the Seleucid king towards the Greek cities of his empire. In order to demonstrate this, in the first part of the chapter, I will briefly look at Polybius' political thinking and theory of empire according to recent scholarship. I will discuss how some characters such as Antigonus Doson, Philip II, and Scipio Africanus were presented by means of positive attributes and praised by Polybius. In the second part of the chapter, I will focus on the Polybian portrait of Antiochus III. I will, firstly, briefly discuss the relationship between Polybius' work and the later sources which transmit his account concerning the Seleucid king. Then, I will demonstrate that Antiochus III is presented by the Achaean historian with the same attributes used for the above mentioned rulers and that he is praised as an example of a magnanimous king in various occasions, in particular during his expeditions in the Eastern regions of the empire and in Thrace as well as during his involvement in the Syrian Wars. The stories concerning Antiochus' benevolent dispositions towards Seleucia Pieria, Jerusalem, Sardis and Lysimachia also fit into the same narrative. Finally, in the last part of the excursus, I will focus on the narrative concerning Antiochus' war with Rome and explore whether the Seleucid king is still presented according to Polybian criteria.

7.2 Polybius and imperialism

The main aim of Polybius was to understand how Rome came into power and how it displayed its imperialism throughout his dominions.[651] This is explicitly stated by the Achean historian himself from the beginning of book 1 of the *Histories*.[652] Scholarship, therefore, has mostly focused on exploring Polybius' analysis of this process as well as his personal judgement on the Roman expansion. Scholars, in addition, have pointed out that Polybius also reflects on the idea of imperialism in a broader sense, that is the rule of one people or king over others, and that he offers throughout his *Histories exempla* or *paradeigmata* of positive or negative imperial power. It has been demonstrated how Polybius considers a

[651] See for example, Holleaux (1935); Walbank (1963/1985); (1964); (1972); (1974/1985); (1981-1982); (2002); Musti (1978); Richardson (1979); Derow (1979); Ferrary (1988); (2003); Thornton (2004); Millar (1987/2006); Eckstein (2008); Davidson (2009), 123-135; Erskine (2010), 129-146; Baronowski (2011); Smith and Yarrow (2012); Gibson and Harrison (2013); Erskine and Crawley Quinn (2015).

[652] Plb. 1.1.5: "Can any one be so indifferent or idle as not to care to know by what means, and under what kind of polity, almost the whole inhabited world was conquered and brought under the dominion of the single city of Rome, and that too within a period of not quite fifty-three years?" (All the translations of Polybius' text in this chapter are from Paton 1922-1927, unless otherwise specified); see also Plb. 3.1. Walbank (1957), 39-40; 292.

successful ruler the one who is benevolent towards his subjects and allies.[653] The ruler has to issue orders but he does not have to behave as a despot or a tyrant; rather, he has to pursue good relations with the people he rules over (*hairesis symmachikè*) and treat them as his allies.[654] If he rules by consent and behaves with moderation providing his people with benefits and provisions he will receive their goodwill and loyalty (*eunoia* and *pistis*); this people, in addition, will become subject *proairesis* (their own choice). This model of rulership is explicitly praised by Polybius in various occasions throughout his work.[655] To this model, Polybius opposes the one of the unsuccessful ruler. The latter, Polybius points out, behaves arrogantly towards his subjects and treats them as slaves. He is easily comparable to a tyrant who rules by fear (*phobo despozein*) and forces his subjects and allies to obey (*poiein to prostattomenon*).[656] This model of oppressive domination is strongly criticised and rejected by Polybius. In order to better illustrate his political thinking, Polybius offers various examples of both models in his *Histories*. In what follows, I will briefly concentrate on the cases which are most relevant to my main argument.[657] I will look in particular at Antigonus III Doson, Philip II, Philopoemen, Scipio Africanus, and Hamilcar Barca. All these rulers are praised by Polybius and presented (either explicitly or implicitly) as models of proper imperial conduct. We will see how their description echoes that of Antiochus III. Polybius tells us that Antigonus Doson defeated, in the Battle of Sellasia (222 BC), king Cleomenes III of Sparta who was attempting to expand his hegemony over the entire Peloponnesus. Cleomenes managed to escape to Egypt but Sparta fell under Macedonian control and the Spartans thus became subjects to the Antigonian king. Polybius, then, goes on to describe how Antigonus treated the Spartan defeated foe. The historian emphasises that the king treated it with moderation rather than injuring them. In particular, Antigonus restored the political system of the Spartans, redeemed their liberty and bestowed great benefits on them.[658] This attitude is highly praised by Polybius. We shall see how these actions are

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[653] This is made clear by Polybius in 10.36. Here, the historian is commenting on the Carthaginian rule in Spain. After obtaining hegemony over the territory, the Carthaginians began to mistreat their subjects. In contrast with this he states that "it is clear and it has been observed on many occasions that men obtain success by generous treatment of their neighbours and by holding out the prospect of future benefits". See also Walbank (1967), 245-250; Erskine (2003), 231; Balot (2010), 495; Thornton (2013a),

[654] Thornton (2013a), 134; see also Plb. 9.23.5-9; 10.36 with Erskine (2003), 237; Eckstein (1995), 227-229.

[655] Polybius develops this thought when discussing the words of Aratus and Agelaus. Plb. 5.11.7-12.3; 5.104.5-6; 7.12.5-7 with Thornton (2013a), 137-138; Erskine (2003), 236; Balot (2010).

[656] Plb. 4.72.6 with Thornton (2013a), 138; this is also emphasised in Plb. 5.11.6, Walbank (1957), 549.

[657] These examples as well as others are examined in full detail in particular by Pédech (1964); Eckstein (1995); Erskine (2003); Thornton (2013a); (2013b).

[658] I quote in the footnotes the full passages from Polybius as they will be highly relevant when discussing the Polybian passages concerning Antiochus III. Plb. 5.9.8-10: "When Antigonus after defeating Cleomenes king of the Lacedaemonians in a pitched battle became master of Sparta and had absolute authority to treat the city and

associated with the image of Antiochus III, too. A similar example of a magnanimous ruler is provided by Philip II. When the latter defeated the Athenians in the battle of Chaeronea he behaved with humanity (*philanthropia*) and magnanimity (*megalopsychia*) towards them. He released the prisoners without ransom, buried the dead and provided the defeated with benefits.[659] As a result of these policies, the king won the loyalty of the Athenians; they regarded him as a benefactor and were willing to co-operate with him. These two examples are explicitly contrasted by Polybius with the character of Philip V whose behaviour is highly criticised by the historian.[660] We will come back to this point later. Another model of proper rulership according to Polybius is represented by the Achean Philopoemen. The latter was appointed various times *strategos* of the Achaean League (the first time in 209 BC) and fought against the Spartan expansion in the Peloponnesus under Cleomenes III (220 BC) and Nabis, the Spartan tyrant (207-192 BC). Polybius highly praises the decisions taken by Philopoemen in the aftermath of the war against Nabis. After the latter was defeated and Sparta was controlled by the Achean League, Philopoemen called for the restoration of those Spartans who had been exiled during the war.[661] This behaviour is described by Polybius as "a good act". Examples of moderation in ruling over subjects or allies are also provided by Scipio Africanus and Hamilcar Barca. The former is praised for his behaviour in Spain during the Second Punic War (218-201 BC). In 208 BC, Scipio, having defeated Hasdrubal and his army in the Battle of Baecula, released all the Iberian prisoners without ransom thus showing clemency toward the defeated enemy.[662] Similarly, after the capture of New Carthage, he

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citizens as he chose, so far from injuring those who were at his mercy, he restored to them on the contrary their national constitution and their liberty, and did not return to Macedonia before he had conferred the greatest public and private benefits on the Lacedaemonians. Not only therefore was he regarded as their benefactor at the time […]". See also Thornton (2013a), 135-136.

[659] Plb. 5.10.1-5: "Again Philip […] did not, when he conquered the Athenians in the battle of Chaeronea, obtain so much success by his arms as by the leniency and humanity of his character. For by war and arms he only defeated and subjugated those who met him in the field, but by his gentleness and moderation he brought all the Athenians and their city under his domination, not letting passion push him on to further achievement, but pursuing the war and striving for victory only until he found a fair occasion for exhibiting his clemency and goodness. So he dismissed the prisoners without ransom, paid the last honours to the Athenian dead, entrusting their bones to Antipater to convey to their homes, gave clothes to most of those who were released, and thus at a small expense achieved by this sagacious policy a result of the greatest importance. For having daunted the haughty spirit of the Athenians by his magnanimity, he gained their hearty co-operation in all his schemes instead of their hostility". For a commentary on the passage see Thornton (2013a), 136; (2013b), 222.

[660] Plb. 5.1-7.

[661] Plb. 21.32c.3-4: "[…] Indeed we all know that for the most part the nature of immediate profit is repugnant to goodness and vice versa. But Philopoemen made this his purpose and attained his object. For it was a good act to restore to their country the Spartan exiles who were prisoners, and it was an advantageous one to humble the city of Sparta by destroying the satellites of the tyrants […]. See Liv. 38.30-31 for a detailed summary of the events; see also Walbank (1979), 137-138.

[662] Plb. 10.40.10: "To resume my narrative, on the present occasion he picked out the Iberians from the prisoners and left them all free to return to their own countries without ransom, and ordering Andobales to choose for himself three hundred of the horses, he distributed the rest among those who had none".

allowed all the citizens to return freely to their homes.[663] Polybius points out that as a consequence of this behaviour the citizens became well disposed towards him. Moderation is also shown by the Carthaginian commander Hamilcar. The latter, having defeated the rebel armies formed by Carthaginian mercenaries in 238 BC during the so-called Truceless War or Mercenary War,[664] resolved to pardon them and to act with clemency. He allowed those of the prisoners who chose to do so to join his army; while he set free the others.[665] All these examples show a moderate behaviour and benevolence towards subjects and defeated enemies; Polybius clearly appreciates and praises it. He claims that this behaviour guarantees the goodwill of the subjects, avoids rebellion, and secures therefore enduring hegemony.[666] We will see how Polybius' depiction of Antiochus resembles, in multiple aspects, those presented in this section.

On the other hand, examples of despotic imperialism and descriptions of aggressive rulers who govern by force and terror rather than by consent are opposed by Polybius to the positive ones examined above. Polybius frequently describes the Macedonian Philip V as an arrogant ruler who ill-treats his subjects and allies. This is made clear, in particular, in the Polybian account of Philip's intervention in the Greek cities of Thermus (Aetolia), Messene (Peloponnese), and Cius (Bithynia). In 218 BC, during the First Macedonian War, Polybius narrates that the king allowed his army to loot the houses in the city of Thermus as well as to plunder the neighbouring villages and the Therman plain. In addition, they sacked, destroyed and burnt the sanctuary of Thermus.[667] These actions are harshly judged by Polybius. A similar negative tone is used by the historian to describe Philip's massacre at Messene. In 215/214 BC, after news of the revolt of the inhabitants of the city reached Philip, he marched there with his army and massacred the city's officials as well as hundreds of citizens.[668]

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[663] Plb. 10.17.6-8: "The tribunes, then, were now dealing with the booty, but the Roman commander, when the whole of the prisoners, numbering little less than ten thousand, had been collected, ordered first the citizens with their wives and children, and next the working men, to be set apart. Upon this being done, after exhorting the citizens to be well disposed to the Romans and to be mindful of the kindness shown to them, he dismissed them all to their houses. Weeping and rejoicing at one and the same time, owing to their unexpected delivery, they made obeisance to Scipio and dispersed […]". See Erskine (2003), 232-233. While he clearly praises Scipio's behaviour toward the defeated enemy, he also emphasises the harshness of the Roman commander and his army during the siege and attack of the city.

[664] For the full account of the war as well as an analysis of the character of Scipio see Plb. 10.2-10.

[665] Plb. 1.78.13-15: "After the victory Hamilcar gave permission to those of the prisoners who chose to join his own army, arming them with the spoils of the fallen enemies; those who were unwilling to do so he collected and addressed saying that up to now he pardoned their offences, and therefore they were free to go their several ways, wherever each man chose, but in future he threatened that if any of them bore arms against Carthage he would if captured meet with inevitable punishment".

[666] This point is made clear also in Plb. 5.104.6.

[667] Plb. 5.8.3-9.6; with Thornton (2013a), 135-136; Thornton (2013b), 222-223

[668] Plb. 7.11-14; 8.8.1-2. Walbank (1940), 72-75; Erskine (2003), 236-237;

Finally, Polybius highlights once again the despotic rule of Philip in his description of the king's treatment of the city of Cius in 202 BC. He informs us that the Macedonian king, after having conquered and sacked the city, enslaved all the inhabitants without any justification.[669] On the same occasion, in addition, he is described as having forced the cities of Lysimachia and Chalcedon to submit to him.[670] All the three episodes are followed by the historian's comments and reflections on Philip's attitude which is considered dangerous for a ruler as it could easily lead to revolts by the ill-treated subjects. As we shall see, Antiochus III's relationship with the Greek cities is described by Polybius in very different terms. In the next section we will see how the historian presents Antiochus with tones similar to those employed to portray Antigonus Doson, Philip II, Scipio, and Hamilcar. He appears, too, as a ruler who behaves with mildness and clemency towards his army, his subjects, and cities. The story concerning the foundation of Lysimachia, I argue, helped Polybius to make this portrait more vivid.

7.3 Antiochus the Great and the re-foundation of Lysimachia in Polybius' *Histories*

Before turning to the Polybian image of Antiochus III in the *Histories* I will briefly look at Polybius' work and its transmission by later sources. This is relevant when approaching the Polybian narrative concerning the Seleucid king. Only the first five books of the *Histories* have survived in their original form; other books are completely lost while fragments or extracts of others have arrived to us mostly preserved in Greek excerpts made in the mid-tenth century for the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus or transmitted by later writers who used the work of Polybius as their source.[671] As regards the picture of Antiochus III, this is sketched throughout several books of Polybius' work. Book 5 treats the king's expedition in the Upper Satrapies and his campaign against Molon (222-220 BC); the same book also concentrates on the Fourth Syrian War (219-217 BC) fought by Antiochus against Ptolemy IV Philopator. The war against Achaeus (220-214/13 BC) is narrated in books 7 and 8. The latter also contains the account of Antiochus' *anabasis* in the East (212-206/5 BC); the last part of it is narrated in book 11. Books 15 and 16 focus on the preparation of Antiochus for the Fifth Syrian War (202-196 BC) and the subsequent campaign in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia against Ptolemy V. Books 18-19, then, narrate the preliminaries (196-192 BC) of the war between the Seleucid king and Rome; they begin with the narration of Antiochus' arrival in Europe through Thrace and the first official encounter with Rome during the

[669] Plb. 15.22 with Thornton (2013a), 141.
[670] Plb. 15.22.9.
[671] Trankle (2009), 480-481; see also Luce (1997); Marincola (2001); Davidson (2009).

conference of Lysimachia. Finally, the events of the war, from its outbreak (191 BC) to its completion (188 BC) were treated in books 20-21. We will come back to the content of the books in more detail later. As the summary shows, only the fifth book is preserved in its entirety. Long extracts of books 7-8 and 18 are preserved in the excerpts; books 15, 16, 20 and 21 are preserved in the excerpts, too, although in a very fragmented state. Book 19 is unfortunately completely lost.

Much of the content of books 18-21 is, however, transmitted by Livy, Appian and Diodorus. Appian and Diodorus offer a very summarised version of these books, while Livy preserves a fuller version of them. Scholars on Appian and Livy have discussed these books and explored how the later writers used the Polybian material within their works.[672] As regards Appian, the historian used Polybius' books 18-21 in the first part of his *Syrian Wars*, where he dealt with the account of Antiochus' war with Rome.[673] It has been shown that the historian from Alexandria read Polybius directly and drew heavily on him for the narration of the events.[674] In addition, it has been noted that Appian in some cases tended to follow Polybius more closely than other writers and to transmit material from the latter which was not preserved by the other sources, as we shall see in more detail later.[675] Yet, Rich has convincingly demonstrated that Appian also heavily recast the Polybian material according to his own narrative and agenda. As regards the presentation of Antiochus III and his conflict with Rome, Rich has shown how Appian, by using details from Polybius, re-shaped and dramatised the image of the king presenting him as a greedy and aggressive man dominated by a light-headed folly which would lead him to defeat.[676]

Livy has received more attention than Appian since, as said above, he transmitted Polybius' text on a much more ample scale than the former. The Roman historian used books 18-21 of the *Histories* for his treatment of Rome's war against Antiochus which he developed throughout books 33-38 of his *Ab Urbe Condita.* It has been shown that he, as Appian, read Polybius directly; in addition, the text of Livy, when compared to the extant Greek text of the

[672] Diodorus has received less attention than Livy and Appian as he offers a very summarised and abridged version of the Polybian text; in addition, Diodorus' books which contain the Polybian narrative (books 28-29) have survived in a very fragmented status. In this excursus I will primarily focus on Livy and Appian while I will refer to Diodorus only when necessary. On Diodorus' use of Polybius see Niessen (1863), 110-113; Schwartz (1957), 74-76; Hornblower (1991), 29; Sacks (1994), 224-231.
[673] Appian also uses the material from Polybius' books 18-21 in his *Hellenic Wars* (on the wars of Rome against the Aetolians) and in the *Macedonic Wars;* see Rich (2015), 76.
[674] Brodersen (1991), 69-71; Hose (1994), 203-219; Rich (2015), 73-75 offers a detailed discussion on this subject-matter with bibliography. For a counter argument see Mommsen (1879), 511-538; Walbank (1940), 285-286; (1979), 117, 156; Gabba (1957).
[675] Rich (2015), 75-76.
[676] Rich (2015), 77-100.

Histories, shows that the Roman historian followed Polybius on his main narrative, too.[677] However, it is also widely accepted that Livy did not simply translate Polybius' text into Latin but that he made, in fact, many modifications to it. He shortened those sections which he considered to be of scarce importance; he added comments on others and also inserted his own personal interpretation of particular details described by Polybius, especially when these were unfamiliar to the Roman culture and traditions of his audience. Interestingly, furthermore, it has also been noted that Livy tended to downplay or omit, mostly for patriotic reasons, those sections which contained Polybius' criticism of individual Romans or the historian's unfavourable comments on Rome. In such cases, Livy chose to transmit instead other versions of the events, frequently drawing on the Roman annalistic tradition.[678] A few examples of Livy's adaptation of some parts of Polybius' books 18-21 will be useful here to better understand his subtle method of composition. The first example concerns the historian's treatment of the Roman sack of Ambracia (Epirus). In 198 BC, the Roman army guided by the consul Marcus Fulvius laid siege to the city and captured it. Once inside, they brutally looted it of all its treasures. While Polybius in book 21 emphasises the gravity of their actions, Livy in book 38 minimizes it. The Roman army is described in the Polybian narrative as seizing a considerable number of statues, paintings, and sculptures; Livy ameliorates the fact and comments that *only* these objects had been removed.[679] Another example concerns the presentation by the two historians of Titus Quinctius Flamiminus who played a prominent role during the Roman-Macedonian Wars and the war against Antiochus. Polybius presents Flamininus, throughout his work, in a general positive light ; yet, he does also provide his readers with ambiguous comments concerning the Roman consul and general and in various occasions criticises his cynical and violent behaviour, thus offering a complex picture of the man[680] Livy, on the other hand, omits from his account all the details concerning the ambiguous or negative behaviour of Flamininus accepting from the Polybian narrative only those elements which would present him as a virtuous Roman man.[681] Finally,

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[677] Eckstein (2015), 408-409; Niessen (1863) identified those parts of the Livian books which derived from Polybius; see also Halfmann (2013), 49-58.
[678] For detailed discussions on all these cases see Nissen (1863), 7-17; 313-323; Witte (1910), 270-305 and 359-419; Lambert (1946), 58 ff.; Walsh (1954), 97-114; (1961); McDonald (1957), 155-172; Briscoe (1973), 6-8; (1993), 39-52; (2009), 461-475; Tränkle (1977), 73-191; (2009), 477-495; Luce (1977), 205-221; Rich (2015), 76; Eckstein (2015), 407-422.
[679] Liv. 38.9.14; Plb. 21.30.9 with Walbank (1971), 162 and Eckstein (2015), 410.
[680] See for example Plb. 18.1-2 with Eckstein (2015), 411; Plb. 18.43.7-12 and Liv. 33.27.5-28.3 with Tränkle (1977), 149-151,
[681] Similarly, Livy, when discussing on the Roman treatments of the city of Elatia, seems to have suppressed the details concerning the expulsion of the inhabitants by Flamininus. Liv. 32.24.7 with Briscoe (1973), 214; (2009), 468.

a similar recasting of the Polybian material can also be seen in Livy's treatment of the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC). In this case, Livy seems to have followed the version of the events as it was narrated by the annalists Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias rather than the Polybian narrative. This would have allowed him to present a version of the events which omitted all the details which highlighted the brutality of the battle and the possible criticism towards the Romans and Flamininus.[682]

The Livian narrative concerning Antiochus' war with Rome has to be considered with caution, too. It has been shown that Livy revised the Polybian image of Antiochus III according to his own purposes. Flamerie de Lachapelle has convincingly demonstrated that the historian re-adapted some details from the Polybian material in order to generally present the Seleucid king to his readers as a deceptive and incompetent ruler.[683] In addition, it has also been noted that Livy re-adjusted the well-known Polybian passage from book 20 of the *Histories* concerning Antiochus' marriage in Chalcis. This passage was attributed directly to Polybius by Athenaeus who cited the Achaean historian as his main source.[684] According to the account, Antiochus, in the first phase of the war against Rome, during his stay in Chalcis for the winter, would have married a local girl in order to strengthen the alliance with the Chalcidians. During the celebrations he would have indulged in wine and food. Mastrocinque argued that Livy reshaped the account by inserting details from a Roman tradition which would accentuate the king's debauchery and drunkenness and, thus, exaggerate the negative traits of Antiochus III.[685] He noted that the tone of the Livian version of the episode closely resembles a passage from Florus (AD 70-130), a contemporary of Livy, who was drawing, for the description of the events, on anti-Seleucid sources. These sources might have been the same ones used by Livy.[686] We will come back again to this passage later. The examples from Appian and Livy analysed here show, therefore, that the two historians adapted the Polybian material concerning Antiochus III's war with Rome for their own purposes. For this reason, in my main analysis I will mainly concentrate on the first part of Polybius' narrative

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[682] Plb. 18.18-32; Liv. 33.4-10 with Carawan (1988), 221-224; Briscoe (2009), 468; see also Eckstein (2015), 414 who offeres a different interpretation to Livy's readaptation of the Polybian text.
[683] Flamerie de Lachapelle (2012), 124-133. See also Bernard (2010), 295.
[684] Plb. 20.8 = Athen. 10.439 E-F. Athenaeus is the only one who explicitly cites Polybius as his source. The episode is also briefly mentioned by Diod. 29.2; App. *Syr.* 16. For Athenaeus' use of Polybius see Walbank (2000), 161-169; Ceccarelli (2011), 161-179.
[685] Liv. 36.11.1-2 and 17.7 with Mastrocinque (1983), 141-144. Schmitt (1991), 82-83 noted the political reasons behind the marriage; see also Will (1966, vol.2), 174; Walbank (1979), 75; Grainger (2004), 220 clearly argues that the account of the marriage in Livy is distorted and aimed at discrediting Antiochus; Thornton (2014), 111.
[686] Flor. *Epit*. I.24.4; Mastrocinque (1983), 142-143; Flamerie de Lachapelle (2010), 109-122 and Russo (2014), 311-312 comment on the same passage and reach very similar conclusions.

which deals with the events of Antiochus III's life from his expeditions against Molon until the preliminaries of his war with Rome. In other words, I will focus on those books of the *Histories* which preserve the original, although fragmented, Polybian text (namely books 5-18). I will leave out from my analysis the narrative concerning Antiochus' war with Rome (books 20-21). As we have seen, the content of Polybius' text from this section was strongly altered by Appian and Livy, and so the historian's perception and judgement of Antiochus III. Nonetheless, in the last part of the excursus, I will come back to this part of the narrative and explore whether it is still possible to detect here too some of the original Polybian thoughts on the king.

Let us now turn to analyse the Polybian depiction of Antiochus III. With regard to it, scholars tend to argue that the historian sketched an overall negative picture of the king.[687] They come to this conclusion by focusing in particular on specific sections of the Polybian narrative, namely on two passages from book 15 and on the passage from book 20 of the *Histories* concerning the marriage of Antiochus in Chalcis. In the first passage from book 15, Polybius comments on an alliance which would have been signed between Antiochus III and Philip V, immediately before the outbreak of the Fifth Syrian war, with the purpose of dividing the kingdom of the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes between themselves. He criticises this decision using very harsh tones and calling the two kings tyrants.[688] A similar tone also characterises the second passage from book 15. Here Polybius seems to be very disappointed by Antiochus' conduct of life. He states that while in the beginning the king seemed to have been able to accomplish great projects and to show courage, later he would have disappointed these expectations.[689] Finally, when looking at the narrative of Antiochus III during his war with Rome, the king seems to be depicted in not very positive tones, as said above. Scholars, in particular, focus on the episode concerning Antiochus' marriage and argued that Polybius' aim was to present the king as a model of the decadence of the Hellenistic rulers.[690] We will come back to these passages and Polybius' criticism towards Antiochus III later, in the final section of the excursus.

Scholarship has noted that Polybius portrays Antiochus III in a favourable light from book 5 to book 11 and that he describes the king by means of attributes very similar to those used to

[687] See, for example, Bickerman (1932); Badian (1959); Brown (1964); Holleaux (1957), Pedech (1964), Eckstein (1995), Primo (2009), Dreyer (2007), Virgilio (2003), (2007); Taylor (2013).
[688] Plb. 15.20.
[689] Plb. 15.37.
[690] Virgilio (2003); (2007), 60-69 (esp. 66-69). see also Ogden (1999), 137-138. Bevan (1902), ii 80; Bouche-Leclercq (1913), 14, 225; Macurdy (1932), 92, Robert (1949), 25-9: Schmitt (1964), 11; Seibert (1967), 62.

portray other rulers throughout his *Histories*, such as Antigonus Doson and Philip II.[691] However, this aspect has never received much attention nor has been further developed. Primo, for example, who commented on the positive judgement of Polybius towards Antiochus, suggested that this was due to Polybius using, for this section of the narrative, sources which originated at the Seleucid court which would explain the very positive presentation of the king.[692] Primo's point is certainly plausible; I argue, however, that Polybius in using those sources was following his own specific agenda. In what follows, I will focus on the positive attributes which characterised the Polybian picture of Antiochus and argue that Polybius was presenting the Seleucid king, within his work, as an example of a magnanimous and benevolent ruler and that he employed his source material with this purpose in mind.

Let us now turn to Polybius' text to see how Antiochus III is depicted and presented. Polybius focuses for the first time at length on Antiochus and his reign in book 5.[693] Here, he narrates the king's expedition against Molon, the satrap of Media, which took place in 221-220 BC.[694] Polybius begins his account narrating the decision by Molon and his brother Alexander, the satrap of Persia, to revolt against Antiochus. In the beginning, the king, following the ill-advice of his advisor, Hermeas,[695] ignored the news of the revolt and focused on pursuing his expedition in Coele-Syria against the Ptolemaic power. After some time and after the news of the defeat of Antiochus' generals who were fighting against Molon's army, the king decided to interrupt his campaign in Coele-Syria and concentrate on the relief of his own dominions.[696] So Antiochus started his campaign in the East and soon arrived at the Euphrates in the territory of Apollonia near Babylon where Molon had camped.[697] The following day the two armies which had been prepared for the battle by Antiochus and Molon were about to advance against each other. However, immediately after the beginning of the battle, the left wing of Molon's forces defected and went over to Antiochus. Molon thus found himself easily surrounded by the enemy on every side and

[691] Pédech (1964), 170-171; Eckstein (1995), 84; Primo (2009), 132-133.
[692] Primo (2009), 126-148.
[693] Polybius introduces Antiochus in his work for the first time in 4.48.8 giving his readers details concerning his origins and family.
[694] See the introduction for more details and bibliography on this.
[695] The narrative concerning Hermeas covers several chapter of Polybius' book 5. He was in charge of affairs at the Seleucid court as Antiochus was still very young; he became jealous of all the holders of prominent positions at the court and acted in order to destroy them (Plb. 5.41.1-7). Walbank (1957), 571.
[696] Plb. 5.46.5.
[697] Plb. 5.52.1.

decided to kill himself rather than being killed by Antiochus.[698] The Seleucid king thus won against the rebel Molon. As regards Antiochus' behaviour towards Molon's soldiers after their defeat, Polybius writes:

> μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπιτιμήσας διὰ πλειόνων καὶ δοὺς δεξιὰν συνέστησε τοὺς ἀποκομιοῦντας αὐτοὺς εἰς Μηδίαν καὶ καταστησομένους τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβὰς εἰς Σελεύκειαν καθίστατο τὰ κατὰ τὰς πέριξ σατραπείας, ἡμέρως χρώμενος πᾶσι καὶ νουνεχῶς.
>
> The king rebuked the rebel army in a long speech; and finally by holding out his right hand to them, appointed certain officers to lead them back to Media and settle the affairs of that district; while he himself went down to Seleucia and made arrangements for the government of the satrapies round it, treating all with equal clemency and prudence.[699]

According to this passage, Antiochus is described as acting with moderation towards the army of Molon; he received the soldiers back into favour and treated all with clemency. This behaviour reminds of that of Philip II towards the Athenians. Philip is presented, too, as showing clemency and goodwill towards the defeated enemy. It is interesting to note that Molon lost the war, according to Polybius, because part of his army revolted from him and joined Antiochus. Already in 5.52.11-12 Polybius mentions the mutiny of ten soldiers from Molon's army who preferred to join the army of the Seleucid king. We shall see that Polybius goes back to this theme various times in his narrative. Interestingly, in addition, while Antiochus is presented, in this passage, as the model of proper conduct, and a good ruler, Molon is described by Polybius as the one who controls his troops by instilling fear into them. His approach to the city of Apollonia is described as striking terror into the inhabitants.[700] Polybius states: "[…] he seemed absolutely terrible and irresistible to all the inhabitants of Asia".[701] This clearly reminds the readers of Polybius' idea of despotic and harsh rulership.

Antiochus' positive attitude is also shown in the episode which immediately follows the one just described. After the arrival of Antiochus and his entourage in the city of Seleucia which was located in the Upper satrapies, Hermeas would have treated with harshness the Seleucians, fining them and sending the city council into exile. Antiochus, on the other hand,

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[698] Plb. 5.54.5.
[699] Plb. 5.54.8-9.
[700] Plb. 5.43.5; 7.
[701] Plb. 5.45.2. τελέως ἐδόκει φοβερὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀνυπόστατος πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι.

after the news of Hermeas' behaviour had reached him, would have acted with leniency towards the citizens, and "at length succeeded in quieting and pacifying the citizens".[702]

After the narration of Antiochus' successful campaign against Molon, Polybius, in the same book, continues his account relating Antiochus' plans to invade Coele-Syria; this action would lead to the outbreak of the Fourth Syrian War in 219 BC. In this account, Polybius emphasises the kindness shown by the king to his allies. Antiochus, after arriving in Coele-Syria with his army, met with Theodotus and another general. The former was the Ptolemaic governor of Coele-Syria who had decided to take the side of Antiochus after he did not receive an appropriate recognition by the Ptolemaic court for the job he had done.[703] According to Polybius, Antiochus, on the other hand, had treated Theodotus and his companion well:

> ἀπαντησάντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεόδοτον καὶ Παναίτωλον αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτοις φίλων, ἀποδεξάμενος τούτους φιλανθρώπως παρέλαβε τήν τε Τύρον καὶ Πτολεμαΐδα καὶ τὰς ἐν ταύταις παρασκευάς […]
>
> When Theodotus and Panaetolus met him with their partisans he received them graciously, and took over from them Tyre and Ptolemais, and the war material which those cities contained.[704]

The passage describes Antiochus as behaving with humanity and philanthropy towards his new allies. This attitude clearly reminds one, once again, of Philip II, who is praised by Polybius and presented as an ideal ruler.

The benevolent attitude of Antiochus III is also highlighted in the episode concerning the mutiny of Cereas. The latter was another officer of Ptolemy who decided to desert to Antiochus.[705] After the events narrated above, Antiochus and his army arrived in the area of Sidon and encamped there. From this base, the king moved in the surrounding area and managed to capture the adjacent cities of Philoteria, Scythopolis and Atabryum.[706] After the latter capitulated, Cereas went to Antiochus:

> κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Κεραίας, εἷς τῶν: ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖον ταττομένων ὑπάρχων, ἀπέστη πρὸς αὐτόν: ᾧ χρησάμενος μεγαλοπρεπῶς πολλοὺς ἐμετεώρισε τῶν παρὰ τοῖς

[702] Plb. 5.54.10-12.
[703] Plb. 5.40.2-3.
[704] Plb. 5.62.2.
[705] On the identity of Cereas, see Walbank (1957), 596.
[706] Plb. 5.70.1-9.

ἐναντίοις ἡγεμόνων: Ἱππόλοχος γοῦν ὁ Θετταλὸς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τετρακοσίους ἱππεῖς ἦκεν ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖον ταττομένων.

At this juncture Ceraeas, one of Ptolemy's officers, deserted to Antiochus, whose distinguished reception caused great excitement in the minds of many other of the enemy's officers. At any rate, not long afterwards, Hippolochus of Thessaly joined Antiochus with four hundred cavalry of Ptolemy's army.[707]

This passage echoes the previous ones and shows that once again a part of the enemy's army decided to join the side of Antiochus because of the king's benevolence. In addition, this passage clearly expresses one of the main points of Polybius' conception of rulership which have been discussed in the previous section. According to Polybius, the ruler who behaves well towards his subjects and allies receives in return their loyalty and goodwill. This point is stressed various time within the *Histories;* for example, during the speech which Agelaus of Naupactus delivered to Philip V in 217 BC during the Peace of Naupactus. In this speech, Polybius has Agelaus warning Philip V to behave with magnanimity in order to acquire friends and allies.[708] The episode of Cereas clearly shows this point, too. As a consequence of Antiochus' benevolent reception of the officers and generals of Ptolemy, others decided to show loyalty to the Seleucid king and to join him.

Antiochus' caring rulership is highlighted once again by Polybius in book 8. Here, the historian focuses on Antiochus III's campaign in the Upper Satrapies also known as the king's *anabasis* (212-206/5 BC). Antiochus and his army marched through Armenia, Hyrcania, Bactria and ended their expedition in India. When Antiochus arrived in Armenia, he laid siege to the city of Armosata. This was ruled by Xerxes, a local dynast who apparently was very young. When the city was captured, Antiochus met with him. Polybius describes the encounter and the decisions taken by Antiochus afterwards as follows:

Ὅτι Ξέρξου βασιλεύοντος πόλεως Ἀρμόσατα, ἣ κεῖται πρὸς τῷ Καλῷ πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ, μέσον Εὐφράτου καὶ Τίγριδος, ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεβάλετο πολιορκεῖν αὐτήν. […] οἱ μὲν οὖν πιστοὶ τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἔφασκον δεῖν προϊέσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον λαβόντες εἰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ συνεβούλευον κυριεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως Μιθριδάτῃ παραδοῦναι τὴν δυναστείαν, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσέσχε, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τὸν νεανίσκον διελύσατο τὴν ἔχθραν, […] τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπαντ' ἀποκατέστησε, καὶ συνοικίσας αὐτῷ τὴν

[707] Plb. 5.70.10-11.
[708] Plb. 5.104.5-6 with Thornton (2013a), 137.

ἀδελφὴν Ἀντιοχίδα πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων ἐψυχαγώγησε καὶ προσεκαλέσατο, δόξας μεγαλοψύχως καὶ βασιλικῶς τοῖς πράγμασι κεχρῆσθαι.

When Xerxes was king of the city of Armosata, which lies near the "Fair Plain" between the Euphrates and Tigris, Antiochus, encamping before this city, undertook its siege. […] The most trusty of king Antiochus' friends advised him not to let him go, but to make himself master of the city and bestow the sovereignty on Mithridates, his own sister's son. The king, however, paid no attention to them, but sent for the young man and put an end to their enmity […] he restored all his dominions to him and by giving his sister Antiochis in marriage conciliated and attached to himself all the inhabitants of the district, who considered that he had acted in a truly royal and magnanimous manner.[709]

According to the account, Antiochus decided to act with magnanimity towards the young king. Without considering the words of his *philoi* who suggested him to take advantage of Xerxes, Antiochus restored the dynast's dominions and gave his sister to him in marriage. This passage echoes the behaviour of Philip II towards the Athenians. He, too, is described as acting with μεγαλοψυχία towards the enemy, a behaviour which is praised by Polybius and highlighted as an example of good rulership.[710] Apparently, Antiochus, too, in the Polybian narrative would represent this type of king.

The other surviving fragment concerning the *anabasis* of Antiochus informs us of the king's campaign in Bactria against king Euthydemus and in India against the Indian king Sophagasenus. Here again, Polybius emphasises the humanity and mildness of Antiochus. As regards the Bactrian expedition, Polybius tells us that the king, after having met with the son of Euthydemus, made a written treaty and entered into a sworn alliance with the Bactrian ruler. Euthydemus was allowed by the king to continue to rule over Bactria and was declared an official ally of the Seleucids. Similarly, in India, Antiochus renewed his alliance with the Indian king Sophagasenus. After narrating these events, Polybius ends the account concerning the *anabasis* of Antiochus with some reflections and considerations on it and writes:

τὸ μὲν οὖν πέρας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους στρατείας Ἀντιόχου τοιαύτην ἔλαβε τὴν συντέλειαν, δι᾽ ἧς οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἄνω σατράπας ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυνάστας, καὶ συλλήβδην ἠσφαλίσατο τὴν βασιλείαν, καταπληξάμενος τῇ τόλμῃ καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ πάντας

[709] Plb. 8.23.
[710] See also Walbank (1967), 98-100.

τοὺς ὑποταττομένους: διὰ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας ἄξιος ἐφάνη τῆς βασιλείας οὐ μόνον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην.

This was the extreme limit of the march of Antiochus into the Upper Satrapies: in which he not only reduced the up-country satraps to obedience to his authority, but also the coast cities, and the princes on this side of the Taurus; and, in a word, consolidated his kingdom by overawing all his subjects with the exhibition of his boldness and energy. For this campaign convinced the Europeans as well as the Asiatics that he was worthy of royal power.[711]

The judgement is apparently very positive.[712] In this passage, Polybius stresses once again the φιλοπονία of the king as well as his courage and energy. He praises Antiochus' activities and his ability to rule. All these examples would, therefore, show how Polybius presents Antiochus according to his political thinking. The king is presented as magnanimous towards his subjects as the episode concerning the Armenian Xerxes shows, benevolent with his allies, such as Theodotus and Cereas, clement with the defeated foe and open to pardon as we have seen in the case of the Bactrian Euthydemus. We have also seen how Polybius opposes this behaviour to that of Antiochus' enemies, like Molon.

When describing Antiochus III, Polybius frequently emphasises the king's benevolent disposition towards the Greek cities. I will now focus on this aspect of the Polybian narrative. As we have seen in the first section of this excursus, Polybius praises those rulers who behave with respect towards the cities and their inhabitants. Thus, Philopoemen is praised when he redeemed the Spartan exiles; while Antigonus Doson is highly judged positively for having restored to the Spartans their properties and liberties. Hamilcar pardoned the rebel armies showing them his magnanimity, while Scipio demonstrated mercy by releasing the prisoners at Baecula and New Carthage. They are presented by Polybius as *paradeigmata* of a proper way to rule and are opposed to what he considers a negative model of rulership which should be avoided. This involves an aggressive behaviour against cities and allies. In the Polybian narrative, as we have seen, Philip V is frequently depicted as an example of cruel kingship. He looted and destroyed the city of Thermus, massacred the population of Messene, and enslaved the inhabitants of Cius. We shall now see how Polybius, on the other hand, emphasises the moderation of Antiochus in the treatment of subject cities and their inhabitants. Although he does not omit from his account episodes of occasional harshness

[711] Plb. 11.34.14-16. See Primo (2009), 129 and 135 who states that the passage reflects a negative judgement of Polybius towards Antiochus. Contra Ma (1999), 65 who argues that Polybius is here praising Antiochus' achievements. I agree with Ma's reading of the passage.
[712] See also Ma (1999), 54; contra Primo (2009), 134-135.

showed by Antiochus, he seems to emphasise the image of a benevolent king who acts with care towards cities and citizens. Interestingly, Antiochus III is the only ruler, within Polybius' *Histories,* to be presented so frequently in such positive tones regarding his relationship with civic centres. This appears various times throughout the *Histories* and in particular in the cases of Seleucia Pieria, Jerusalem, Sardis, and Lysimachia. I argue that the foundation myth of Lysimachia was used by Polybius within this context in order to better illustrate this king's attitude.

The first episode I will look at concerns the relationship between Antiochus and the Greek city of Seleucia Pieria in Syria.[713] After the defeat of Molon in Media, Antiochus organised his forces for a new campaign against Ptolemy which would lead to the Fourth Syrian War (219-217 BC). On his way to Coele-Syria, Antiochus decided to stop by Seleucia Pieria, following the advice of his physician Apollophanes, a native of Seleucia. The main purpose was to free the city from the Ptolemaic garrison. Seleucia had fallen under Ptolemaic dominion in 246 BC during the Third Syrian War (246-241).[714] Polybius informs us that once the king approached the city with his army (219 BC), he tried, at first, to reconquer it without fighting but by offering rewards to those in charge of the town. This peaceful approach having failed, however, the king attacked the city which fell very easily.[715] After that, Polybius tells us as follows:

> ὁ δὲ Λεόντιος […] ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς θησομένους τὰς πίστεις ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀσφαλείας πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς δεξάμενος τὴν ἔντευξιν συνεχώρησε δώσειν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν: οὗτοι δ᾽ ἦσαν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐ μόνον ἐφείσατο τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πεφευγότας τῶν Σελευκέων καταγαγὼν τήν τε πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας: ἠσφαλίσατο δὲ φυλακαῖς τόν τε λιμένα καὶ τὴν ἄκραν.
>
> Leontius [...] sent commissioners to Antiochus to make terms for the safety of all within the city. […] The king accepted the proposal and agreed to grant safety to all in the town who were free, amounting to six thousand souls. And when he took over the town, he not only spared the

[713] For details concerning Seleucia Pieria and its history see Cohen (2006), 126-135; for the foundation myths of Seleucia Pieria see chapter 6.
[714] Cohen (2006), 127; Walbank (1957), 586-587. For a detailed summary of the events see Grainger (2010), 153-170.
[715] Plb. 5.59-60; see also Grainger (2010), 196-198.

free, but also recalled those of the inhabitants who had been exiled; and restored to them their citizenship and property; while he secured the harbour and citadel with garrisons.[716]

According to this passage, Antiochus seems to have accepted the terms suggested by Leontius, the commander of the Ptolemaic garrison. After he captured the city, he granted safety to all the free men in the town,[717] recalled back those who had been exiled and restored to the inhabitants their properties and rights. The behaviour of Antiochus towards Seleucia and its inhabitants, thus, clearly echoes that of Antigonus Doson at Sparta after the city was captured by his forces. The Antigonid king, too, had treated the inhabitants with mercy restoring to them their constitution and their possessions

Polybius emphasises Antiochus' positive attitude towards the cities also when narrating the king's actions during the Fourth Syrian War. After a failed attempt at negotiation between Ptolemy and Antiochus, the latter decided to invade Coele-Syria in order to strengthen his control on the area.[718] Polybius informs us that after the king had reached Marathus in Coele-Syria, the people of Aradus in Phoenicia came to him asking for an alliance:

Ἀντίοχος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Μάραθον, καὶ παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀραδίων ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας, οὐ μόνον προσεδέξατο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέπαυσε, διαλύσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἤπειρον κατοικοῦντας τῶν Ἀραδίων.

On his way to Marathon he received a deputation of Aradians, asking for an alliance; and not only granted their request, but put an end to a quarrel which they had amongst themselves, by reconciling those of them who lived on the island with those who lived on the mainland.[719]

The passage shows that not only did Antiochus accept the Aradians' request for alliance but he also intervened in order to help them reconcile their internal struggles. Polybius highlights here the benevolent character of Antiochus towards the population of the area.

The next example focuses on the intervention of Antiochus in Jerusalem. The city was captured by the king during the Fifth Syrian War (202-195 BC). The main events of this war were treated by Polybius in book 16 of the *Histories*. Unfortunately, this section of the book is mostly lost to us. Only a couple of fragments have survived. One of them is transmitted in

[716] Plb. 5.60.9-61.2.
[717] For a commentary on the number mentioned by Polybius see Walbank (1957), 585-586; Cohen (2006), 130 n.7.
[718] Plb. 5.68.1-2.
[719] Plb. 5.68.7-8.

the excerpts and relates Polybius' personal opinion on the inhabitants of Gaza and their loyalty to the Ptolemies[720]; while the other fragment, which treats Antiochus' conquest of Jerusalem, is transmitted by Josephus, who quotes Polybius explicitly in his *Jewish Antiquities*. For this reason, I will now turn to Josephus and his work. As regards the events of the Fifth Syrian War, the Jewish historian informs us of the arrival of Antiochus in Palestine during his campaign.[721] According to Josephus, the king, after having defeated Scopas, one of Ptolemy's generals, occupied Samaria, Abila and Gadara; in the end, he received the submission of the people of Jerusalem.[722] At this point of the narrative, Josephus interrupts his summary of the events to quote a document in full length. This is presented as a letter which Antiochus would have sent to Ptolemy, the Seleucid governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, with his dispositions towards Jerusalem and its inhabitants. The king would have thanked the population of Jerusalem for their help with the expulsion of the Egyptian garrison from the city. Then, he would have promised to provide them with all the necessary goods for their temple activities such as sacrificial animals, wine, oil, incense, wheat and salt. In addition, he would have guaranteed them a full restoration of the temple adding that materials of the best quality would have been employed for this; then, he would have relieved the members of the government bodies for the payment of some taxes. Finally, in the last part of the document, Antiochus informs about his dispositions concerning the inhabitants of Jerusalem:

> τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ παραυτίκα μέν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας ἐπέβημεν αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλότιμον […] ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ἀμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσαι τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν συνελθόντων. […] πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους […] καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἁρπαγέντες δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν γεννηθέντας ἐλευθέρους ἀφίεμεν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν.
>
> Since the Jews, upon our first entrance on their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us […] we have thought fit to reward them, and to retrieve the condition of their city, which had been greatly destroyed by the events of the wars, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. […] and let all of that nation live according to the laws of their own

[720] Plb. 16.22a.
[721] For a detailed account of these events see Grainger (2010), 245-273; esp. 260-261.
[722] Jos. *AJ* 12.3.3 = Plb. 16.39: "Polybius of Megalopolis […] says in the same book: 'When Scopas was defeated by Antiochus, that king occupied Samaria, Abila, and Gadara, and after a short time those Jews who inhabited the holy place called Jerusalem surrendered to him. […]'". See Walbank (1967), 546-547.

country […] And all those citizens that have been carried away, and became slaves, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them.[723]

Before discussing the content of the letter further, however, I would like to comment on the nature of the document. Bickerman, who analysed it in detail, convincingly argued that the letter is an authentic document and not an invention by Josephus.[724] The scholar, however, does not expand on the sources which Josephus may have used for this edict, whether the historian read the document directly or via one of his sources. Although it cannot be altogether excluded that Josephus had direct access to the original document, I would suggest that this section of the account concerning Antiochus' activities in Jerusalem might have been part of Polybius' narrative, too, and that Josephus was reading it from there. As we have seen above, Josephus, for the events which immediately precede the capture of Jerusalem, quoted Polybius directly. The letter, thus, might have formed part of the Polybian narrative concerning Antiochus' expedition to Palestine during the Fifth Syrian War. As regards Josephus' use of Polybius, scholars widely agree that the former knew and had direct and detailed knowledge of all the *Histories*.[725] Not only does Josephus explicitly quote Polybius various times, as our example shows, but it has been noted that the work of the Achaean historian had a deep impact on Josephus' writings and that, therefore, even where Polybius is not explicitly cited it is still possible to grasp his influence on Josephus.[726] As regards Polybius, then, it has been noted that he values very highly the use of documents. He clearly states, in his work, that they allow the historian to understand the events how they truly happened and not how they were explained and altered by people who wrote about them.[727] In his work he makes frequent use of inscriptions and official documents, some times through a written source which quotes them, other times by reading them directly.[728] For example, it seems that Polybius had access to, and consulted, the Roman-Carthaginian treaties which he discussed in book 3 of his work; he also refers to the document containing the terms of the peace of Apamea between Antiochus and Rome (book 21) and seems to have quoted a

[723] Jos. *AJ* 12.3.3. (Transl. by Wiston 1895).
[724] He noted that the apologetic tone of the text, on the other hand, is Josephus' addition. Bickerman (1935), 316-356; esp. 336. See also Marcus (1961), 747-751 with bibliography, who considers the document with caution but agree on his authenticity; see also Ma (1999), 113-114; 117; 180 who does not question the authenticity of the document. On the other hand, the nature of the letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis is still under debate. Schalit (1960), 292-296; Malay (1987), 7-17.
[725] Cohen (1982), 366-381; Eckstein (1990), 175-268; Walbank (1995); Hadas-Lebel (1999), 156-165; Mader (2000), 40-43; Sterling (2000), 135-151; Price (2011), 227-229; Gruen (2013), 257.
[726] Eckstein (1990), 175-208.
[727] This is made particularly clear by Polybius in book 3; see for example, 3.8-9; 21-22;33.
[728] Walbank (1957), 31-33; Pédech (1964), 377-389; Prandi (2003), 373-390; Desideri (2007), 182-188; Zecchini (2003), 413-422; Kohen (2013), 159-82.

section of the treaty between Hannibal and Philip V.[729] For all these reasons, I would suggest that the Jewish historian may have read the content of the document directly from Polybius. This would be further confirmed by the fact that Polybius, as we have seen, tends to include this type of narrative and details in his work and when Antiochus III is concerned. The content and the language of the edict concerning Jerusalem clearly recalls the Polybian passage on Seleucia Pieria. In the passage concerning Jerusalem, Antiochus III is described as bringing back in the city those citizens who had fled; then, he would have redeemed the ones who had become slaves. In addition, the king would have given back to the inhabitants of Jerusalem their constitution and their properties. Furthermore, the description of Antiochus' behaviour in Jerusalem recalls the same style and vocabulary used by Polybius in his work to describe the figures of Antiochus Doson and Philopoemen, and, as we shall see, Antiochus himself in Lysimachia. If my hypothesis can be accepted, then, this example would further show how Polybius presented positively the Seleucid king in his work.

Before turning to the account of Lysimachia I wish here to briefly analyse two documents from the city of Sardis in Lydia dated to the reign of Antiochus III and discuss their possible treatment by Polybius. This case may be similar to the one just analysed. Polybius, in books 7 and 8, tells us about Antiochus' siege and capture of Sardis (215-213 BC). The city had become the stronghold of Achaeus, Antiochus' relative who had turned against the king in 222 BC and had proclaimed himself *basileus* of the Seleucid dominions in Asia Minor. Polybius narrates the siege and the subsequent capitulation of the city with plenty of details. He informs us that the siege lasted for more than one year and narrates that the Cretan Laogoras, one of Antiochus' allies, guided the final attack to the city allowing its occupation by Antiochus' forces. He concludes the account by mentioning the surrender of the last section of the city, the citadel, and the final capture of Achaeus who was hiding himself there.[730] Polybius' account regarding Sardis, as it was transmitted in the excerpts, ends with the Achaeus episode. However, other evidence informs us about the following events in Sardis and the relationship between the inhabitants and Antiochus. Two inscriptions from Sardis, dated to 213 BC, imply that the king fined the city and ordered the inhabitants to billet his soldiers in their houses.[731] The aim was probably to punish the city for having sided with Achaeus. The same inscriptions, however, also inform us that Antiochus immediately

[729] Walbank (1957), 32; Desideri (2007), 184 who also refer to other examples of this kind.
[730] Plb. 7.15-18; 8.15-21.
[731] Gauthier (1989), no. 1, p. 13-14 with commentary; no. 3, p. 81-82 with commentary. See also Ma (1999), no. 1, p. 284-285; no. 3, 287-288; id. 61-63; see also Piejko (1987), 707-728.

afterwards revised these dispositions diminishing the amount of the extra-taxes due by the population as well as the number of soldiers to be billeted in each house. This new arrangement, the inscriptions state, aimed at guaranteeing the restoration of the city.[732] The documents inform us that the king offered, in addition, some benefactions to Sardis for the same reason. He allowed the city's buildings to be repaired, had the city's gymnasion restored, and exempted the population from paying the rent on the workshop.[733] As we have seen, Polybius tends to emphasise Antiochus' benevolent dispositions towards the cities and his enemies. Therefore, I would tentatively suggest that the details concerning the aftermath of the capture of Sardis by Antiochus which we read in the inscriptions may have been part of Polybius' narrative too. The fact that Polybius highlights the harsh actions of Antiochus and his soldiers at Sardis (which was sacked and punished) would not exclude the possibility that he might have also narrated the positive treatment received by the city afterwards. This scheme would indeed roughly recall another episode from the *Histories*, namely the capture of New Carthage by Scipio Africanus, which has been discussed in the first section of this excursus. The Roman general and his troops are described as conquering the city and acting with violence towards the population; however, Polybius later also describes how the general redeemed the inhabitants showing his clemency towards them and favouring them, as we have seen. In Scipio's case, therefore, Polybius presents a harsh behaviour which is immediately followed by a positive and constructive one. He seems to oppose the two kinds of behaviour emphasising the positive one; Scipio is indeed praised for having made the inhabitants free. It is not impossible that the same scheme was followed in the case of Antiochus too. If this hypothesis can be accepted then the case of Sardis would be another example of the attention which Polybius paid to the positive disposition of Antiochus III towards his subject cities.

Let us now turn, at last, to the city of Lysimachia in Thrace. I argue that Polybius resorted to the foundation myth of the city and used it in order to provide another example of Antiochus' magnanimity in line with his main narrative. Before commenting on the story I will discuss the authorship of this passage. The episode was not included in the excerpted version of Polybius' *Histories*. Yet, the story has been narrated at length by Livy and Appian.[734] As we have said before, although these authors altered some details from Polybius' texts, they

[732] Gauthier (1989), no. 3, line 4-9.
[733] Gauthier (1989), no. 3, line 9-10.
[734] Diod. 28.12; 15 refers to the same story, too, although very briefly.

tended to follow the Polybian main narrative of the events quite closely,[735] in particular when this concerns the encounter between the king and Rome during the so-called Roman War. Scholars, therefore, agree that the story concerning the refoundation of Lysimachia was part of Polybius' original work and that it was contained in Polybius' book 18. This book narrates Antiochus' first expedition in Thrace in 196 BC and the following conference of Lysimachia where the king and the Romans discussed his recent expansion in Europe.[736] The fact that the story was of Polybian derivation seems to be further suggested by the analysis conducted thus far, which has shown how the Achaean historian seems to have been particularly interested in emphasising the positive relationship between the Seleucid king and the Greek cities.

Let us now turn to see in detail the narrative concerning the re-foundation of Lysimachia. Antiochus, after defeating Ptolemy's forces during the Fifth Syrian War, went north in order to capture all the possessions of the Ptolemies in Asia Minor and add them to his kingdom.[737] At the end of the campaign, a detachment of the army moved to the Hellespont; soon Antiochus joined them and they reached the Thracian Chersonesus. From there they entered Europe and invaded Thrace in 196 BC.[738] Once they arrived in Lysimachia, the king found out that the city, which had been briefly occupied by Philip V in 203 BC[739] and later abandoned, was completely destroyed as a result of an attack by the Thracians. Antiochus III, after seeing the city in ruin, immediately decided to intervene as such:

> Quam cum desertam ac stratam prope omnem ruinis invenisset— ceperant autem direptamque incenderant Thraces paucis ante annis—, cupido eum restituendi nobilem urbem et loco sitam opportuno cepit. itaque omnia simul est aggressus et tecta murosque restituere et partim redimere servientis Lysimachenses, partim fuga sparsos per Hellespontum Chersonesumque conquirere et contrahere, partim novos colonos spe commodorum proposita adscribere et omni modo frequentare; simul, ut Thracum summoveretur metus, ipse parte dimidia terrestrium copiarum ad depopulanda proxima Thraciae est profectus, partem navalisque omnis socios reliquit in operibus reficiendae urbis.
>
> When he had found it almost entirely abandoned and in ruins (the Thracians had captured, plundered, and burned it a few years before), he was seized by the desire of rebuilding a city so famed and so advantageously situated. Therefore he undertook everything at once; to rebuild

[735] For this point see also Niessen (1863), ch.4 who argued that it is possible to deduce the Polybian origin of those passages in Livy to which no Polybian original text correspond; Briscoe (2009), 461.
[736] Plb. 18.49-51; Liv. 33.38; App. *Syr*. 1-2.
[737] Plb. 18.40a.
[738] For a detailed account on the events see Grainger (1996), 329-343.
[739] Plb. 15.21-24; 18.4.4-6. . Walbank (1940), 112-117.

> the houses and walls, to ransom some of the Lysimacheians who were in slavery, to seek out and bring back some of them who had scattered in flight through the Hellespont and Chersonesus, to attract new colonists by the prospects of advantage held out to them, and to populate the city in every possible manner; at the same time, in order to dispel their fear of the Thracians, he set out in person with half his land forces to devastate the neighbouring parts of Thrace, leaving the rest and all the naval allies engaged in the work of rebuilding the city.[740]

According to the passage, Antiochus rebuilt the city and provided it with walls and houses. In addition, he brought back the inhabitants who had fled because of the Thracian incursions as well as those who had been sold as slaves; he also introduced new settlers in order to repopulate the city. Appian offers a version of the story which is very similar to the one transmitted by Livy. He, too, informs us that Antiochus re-built the city, redeemed the citizens who had been enslaved and called in new inhabitants.[741] Yet, Appian's account also presents other details which were not included in the account by Livy. After the narration of the rebuilding and the re-population of Lysimachia, Appian adds that Antiochus also helped the citizens by "supplying them with cattle, sheep, and agricultural implements, and omitting nothing that might contribute to its speedy completion as a stronghold" (καὶ βοῦς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ σίδηρον ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπιδιδούς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτειχίσματος ὁρμήν […]).[742] We will come back to this point later. These accounts clearly echo the story narrated by Polybius concerning Seleucia Pieria and also those concerning Jerusalem and Sardis if one considers them as part of Polybius' work, too.[743] When Antiochus arrived in Seleucia, after reconquering the city, he redeemed the enslaved inhabitants and re-populated the city; then, he provided the citizens with all the necessary goods and provisions. Yet, the story concerning Lysimachia is somewhat different and contains other details which we do not find in the previous accounts. Antiochus is here described as re-founding the city completely; he rebuilds its walls and the houses anew. In addition, as Appian informs us, he

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[740] Liv. 33.38.10-14 (Transl. adapted from Sage 1961). I have chosen to quote in its entirety the version of Livy over that of Appian as the former provides more details and better reproduces the tone and language of the civic foundation account. See Briscoe (1973), 322.

[741] App. *Syr.* 1: "Antiochus repeopled it, calling back the citizens who had fled, redeeming those who had been sold as slaves, bringing in others […]" καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος συνῴκιζε, τούς τε φεύγοντας τῶν Λυσιμαχέων κατακαλῶν, καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες ἐδούλευον ὠνούμενος, καὶ ἑτέρους προσκαταλέγων […]. (The translations of Appian's text in this chapter are from White 1955).

[742] App. *Syr.* 1.

[743] It is interesting to note that Antiochus III, after re-building Lysimachia and re-settling there the inhabitants, signed a treaty of alliance with the city. An inscription preserves the text of the treaty in which the king swears to maintain the city's autonomy and to leave it ungarrisoned and free of tribute. The treaty also reports the reply of the Lysimachians who accepted the offer. The content of the decree nonetheless differs consistently from that of the Polybian account. For the full text of the decree and the English translation see Taşlikliođlu and Frisch (1975), 101-106 with a brief commentary; for a thorough discussion of the treaty see Ferrary-Gauthier (1981), 327-345; Piejko (1988), 151-165.

provides it with the basic needs for a proper growth such as cattle and agricultural goods. Furthermore, he also transfers new colonists to the new foundation. These details clearly recall those which are usually found in civic foundation myths. In the myth concerning the foundation of Antioch, for example, Seleucus I is presented as providing the new city with walls, buildings and various settlers from the surrounding areas. In addition, Antioch, according to the version of the myth which was transmitted by Libanius, was also provided with lands to be cultivated and agricultural products which would have guaranteed to the city a fruitful growth. These were associated with the arrival of Triptolemus (Antioch's mythical founder) in Antioch, who would have settled there the first inhabitant of the future Seleucid city.[744] In the account from Libanius, the theme of the fight against the barbarian also emerges. The orator emphasises, at the end of his excursus on the foundation of Antioch, how Seleucus "brought the barbarian world quite to an end".[745]

Another element which distinguishes this story from the other ones which we have seen is the language and the tone adopted to describe Antiochus' approach to the city. In the account above, the reader is informed that the Seleucid king "was sized by the desire of rebuilding a city so famed" (cupido eum restituendi nobilem urbem). A similar formula appears, again, in the foundation myth of Antioch as transmitted by Libanius. He narrates that Alexander the Great, when arriving on the Syrian land after the victory at Issus, was "possessed of a two-fold desire, both for our land, and for the possession of the remaining lands".[746] Alexander is considered, exclusively in the version of the foundation story transmitted by Libanius, to be one of the founders of Antioch before the arrival of Seleucus in the land. Libanius writes that Alexander would have built in Antioch a shrine to Zeus and a citadel to give the city its beginning. It is interesting to note that the same rhetoric formula, which appears in the foundation myth of Antioch, appears also in the account of the re-foundation of Lysimachia by Antiochus. These examples would further support the idea that Polybius in presenting the activity of the Seleucid king in the city made use of what seems to be a civic foundation account. The celebratory content of the *ktisis* discourse fits well within the main Polybian narrative concerning Antiochus as it praises the benevolence and magnanimity of the king.

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[744] Lib. *Or.* 11.51 "And when they (Triptolemus and his companions) worked the land and reaped its fruits, they changed the epithet of Zeus from Nemean to Fruit-bringer".
[745] Lib. *Or.* 11.103: […] διετέλεσε τὴν βάρβαρον […]. For a detailed commentary see chapter 2 (2.3)..
[746] Lib. *Or.* 11.75: […] διττῷ δὲ πόθῳ κατειλημμένος, τῷ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑπολοίπων κτῆσιν […].

As the passages from Livy and Appian show, the story of the refoundation of Lysimachia, on the other hand, does not introduce any mythical character. As we have seen, when discussing the beginnings of Antioch as well as that of Apamea in the previous chapters, mythical figures, such as the Argives, Io, Perseus and Heracles, usually played a prominent role within the main narrative. This, however, may not be so surprising. Polybius, in book 9 of the *Histories*, makes clear to his readers that he does not aim at including stories of mythical beginnings and foundation in his work; instead, he claims, the *Histories* are exclusively based on factual and political history.[747] He may have, therefore, summarised the account concerning Lysimachia and avoided inserting details proper of an origin discourse or he may have chosen a source which did not include them.

Polybius (through Livy and Appian), unfortunately, is our only evidence of the Lysimachian foundation account. No numismatic or archaeological evidence has survived. This was probably due to the fact that when Antiochus was defeated by Rome and its allies (the Rhodians and the Attalids) at the naval battle of Myonnesus in 191/90 BC, he decided to evacuate Lysimachia in order to avoid being blocked there by his enemies' fleets.[748] When the Seleucid troops and some of the civilians had left, the city was immediately conquered once again by the Thracian tribes who sacked it and controlled it for a long period.[749] Archaeological evidence has shown that, from that moment, Thrace entered a period of decline which strongly affected the development of its main urban centres. It has been shown that in the first century BC Lysimachia, too, fell into decay and was reduced to a minor centre; in the same period, it also underwent a massive destruction by the Thracians and this would have led to the city's definitive collapse.[750] Pliny in his *Natural History* describes the city as being practically deserted.[751]

The last two episodes I will look at show how Polybius presents Antiochus' behaviour towards the Greek people in various areas of his dominions. The first episode is set in the background of Antiochus III's *anabasis* and it is treated in Polybius' book 10. Antiochus, while campaigning in Hyrcania during the final phase of his Eastern expedition, reached the city of Syrinx, the capital of Hyrcania, which was located in a favourable position. He laid siege to the city and captured it. After he entered the city, however, the barbarians of Syrinx,

[747] Plb. 9.2.1-2; see also Plb. 9.1. On Polybius understanding of this literature of foundation, see Fronda (2011), 435-440; 443-447 esp. 445.
[748] Liv. 37.33.1-2; App. *Syr*. 28; for a detailed description of the events see Grainger (2004), 307-308.
[749] Delev (2015), 59-75.
[750] Lozanov (2015), 75-90; esp. 84-88; see also Cohen (1996), 84
[751] Plin. *Nat. Hist*. 4.47.

who were trying to stop Antiochus' advance, killed the Greeks who lived there. As regards Antiochus' reaction to this, Polybius writes:

> οὗ συμβάντος διατραπέντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς ὅλοις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας κατασφάξαντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δ᾽ ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν σκευῶν διαρπάσαντες, νυκτὸς ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς συνθεασάμενος Ὑπερβάσαν ἀπέστειλε μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων: οὗ συμμίξαντος οἱ βάρβαροι ῥίψαντες τὰς ἀποσκευὰς αὖθις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον. τῶν δὲ πελταστῶν ἐνεργῶς βιαζομένων διὰ τοῦ πτώματος, ἀπελπίσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.
>
> Upon this the barbarians, giving up all as lost, put to death such Greeks as were in the town; and having plundered all that was most worth taking, made off under cover of night. When the king saw this, he despatched Hyperbasas with the mercenaries; upon whose approach the barbarians threw down their booty and fled back again into the city; and when they found the peltasts pouring in energetically through the breach in the walls they gave up in despair and surrendered.[752]

Polybius, in this passage, informs us that the Seleucid king sent one of his officers to pursue and punish the Thracians for having killed the Greek inhabitants of the city of Syrinx. Polybius highlights that Antiochus acted in defence of his Greek subjects.

A similar episode can also be found in a passage from Appian's account on Antiochus III. This time the event is inserted in the framework of Antiochus' second Thracian campaign which is dated to 195 BC (just one year after the king's intervention in Lysimachia).[753] When the king crossed the Hellespont and entered Thrace, he faced the Thracians who were invading the area. According to the story:

> ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος αὖθις ἐφ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου κατήει, καὶ περιπλεύσας ἐς Χερρόνησον πολλὰ καὶ τότε τῆς Θρᾴκης ὑπήγετό τε καὶ κατεστρέφετο. Ἕλληνας δ᾽ ὅσοι τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν ὑπήκουον, ἠλευθέρου, καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἐχαρίζετο πολλὰ ὡς ἐπίκαιρον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος πόλιν ἔχουσιν.
>
> Then Antiochus went down to the Hellespont and crossed over to Chersonesus and possessed himself of a large part of Thrace by persuasion or conquest. He freed the Greeks who were under subjection to the Thracians, and conciliated the Byzantines in many ways, because their city was admirably situated at the outlet of the Euxine Sea.[754]

The passage tells us that Antiochus, once he had arrived in Thrace and had conquered part of the region, freed the Greeks from the dominion of the Thracians. The passage is unfortunately

[752] Plb. 10.31.11-13.
[753] For more details on the campaign see Grainger (1996), 329-343.
[754] App. *Syr*. 6.

neither preserved in the excerpted version of Polybius' *Histories* nor in Livy[755]. It was exclusively transmitted by Appian in his *Syrian Wars*. Rich, however, has shown that not only does Appian attentively draw on Polybius in the narration of the events concerning Antiochus III, but that the historian from Alexandria also follows the text of Polybius more closely than Livy sometimes; furthermore, Rich has also demonstrated that Appian transmits parts of Polybius' text which have not been preserved by Livy or Diodorus.[756] The passage concerning Antiochus' treatment of the Greeks in Thrace, Rich argues, is one example of this.[757]

7.4 Polybius and the perception of Antiochus III in the war against Rome

In this last section, I will briefly focus on the Polybian criticism towards Antiochus III; as we have seen above, this emerges in book 15 of his work and seems to characterise the rest of the narrative concerning the Seleucid king and his war with Rome, as some scholars suggested. However, I argue that caution is in order when approaching the passages from book 15 as well as the second part of the Polybian narrative. As regards the two individual passages from book 15, for example, these have survived with no context at all; therefore, it is not easy to understand how much they weighted within the whole narrative concerning the events they refer to. As we have seen, Polybius, in book 18, where the foundation myth of Lysimachia is introduced, still seems to present Antiochus in quite a positive light. In addition, as we have seen above, it has been noted that Polybius' criticism towards the king in book 20 was emphasised and exaggerated by Livy. It cannot be excluded that the general harsh tones which tend to describe Antiochus during his war with Rome might sometimes be the result of exaggerations or reinterpretations of the original Polybian text by the later sources, as it has been noted above. This may suggest that although Polybius does criticise, at times, the Seleucid king for what he believes to be some of his défaillances and political choices, he still considers the Seleucid king as a positive figure and that this opinion remains unchanged throughout the whole narrative. I will now examine three passages from the second part of the Polybian narrative concerning the war between Antiochus and Rome, which were transmitted by Livy; I will attempt to demonstrate that the positive Polybian judgement on Antiochus still seems to emerge in this section of the narrative and in particular when the king's attitude towards the Greek cities of Greece is described.

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[755] Livy briefly mentions the expedition at 34.33.13; however, he does not provide all the details that Appian gives.
[756] Rich (2015), 75.
[757] Rich (2015), 81; see also Brodersen (1991), 92-95.

The first episode concerns Antiochus III's activity in the Greek region of Thessaly at around 191 BC. The king had reached Greece invited by the Aetolians and was marching through the country trying to persuade the Greek communities to join his side. After Antiochus III arrived in Thessaly, he laid siege to the city of Pherae and captured it. Immediately after that, the nearby town of Scotussa, which seems to have been affected by the events at Pherae, surrendered easily to the king.[758] A garrison from Larissa had been sent to Scotussa in order to assist with the protection of the city against Antiochus. When the latter capitulated, the garrison was still in the city. As regards Antiochus' behaviour after these events, Livy writes:

> nec ibi mora deditionis est facta cernentibus Pheraeorum recens exemplum, qui, quod pertinaciter primo abnuerant, malo domiti tandem fecissent; cum ipsa urbe Hippolochus Larisaeorumque deditum est praesidium. dimissi ab rege inviolati omnes, quod eam rem magni momenti futuram rex ad conciliandos Larisaeorum animos credebat.
>
> Here the townsmen promptly surrendered in view of the recent example of the Pheraeans, seeing that they had been compelled by stress of circumstances to do what at first they were determined not to do. Hippolochus and his garrison from Larisa were included in the capitulation. These were all sent away unhurt as the king thought that this act would go far to gain the sympathies of the Lariseans.[759]

The passage informs us that the Lariseans were allowed by the king to leave freely and to return to Larisa. According to Livy, Antiochus would have acted as such in order to convince the Lariseans of his magnanimity and thus facilitate the surrender of the city. Whether or not this detail was introduced by Livy to downplay the benevolent act by the king, it is hard not to notice the presence of a pattern which clearly reminds one of the Polybian presentation of Antiochus III which we have seen in the sections above. As in the case of other cities or people, Antiochus behaved with clemency towards the defeated enemy. In this case, too, he seems to be acting with the same magnanimity towards the Lariseans by letting them leave the conquered city unharmed.

Antiochus' positive attitude emerges once again within this narrative. The king immediately after having brought Thessaly under his control, marched with his army to Acarnania in order to persuade also the cities and population of this area to join him. Livy informs us that, on this occasion, Antiochus had managed to contact the Acarnanian Mnasilochus, a member of the Acarnanian Leage who came from the city of Medeus (one of the main centres of

[758] Grainger (2004), 225-226.
[759] Liv. 36.9.13-15 with Briscoe (1981), 233.

Acarnania) and Clytus, the *strategos* of the League. With their assistance, the king succeeded in entering the city[760]; once inside, Antiochus approached the inhabitants who were afraid to meet him:

> [...] ab Clyto et Mnasilocho in urbem est inductus; et aliis sua voluntate adfluentibus metu coacti etiam, qui dissentiebant, ad regem convenerunt. quos placida oratione territos cum permulsisset, ad spem vulgatae clementiae aliquot populi Acarnaniae defecerunt.
>
> [...] (Antiochus) was introduced into the city by Mnasilochus and Clytus; many came round him of their own accord and even his opponents were constrained by their fears to meet him. He quieted their apprehensions by a gracious speech, and when the hope for the clemency which had been widely talked about became generally known several of the communities in Acarnania went over to him.[761]

This passage highlights two interesting points. Firstly, Antiochus is depicted once again as acting with clemency and benevolence towards the defeated inhabitants of Medeus. This, as we have seen, reminds of the presentation of the king made by Polybius during the first part of his narrative. Secondly, this positive behaviour gained him the loyalty of the Acarnanian communities who went over him on their own choice (*proairesis*). This clearly seems to echo some aspects of Polybius' political thought which have been analysed in the first section of this excursus. As has been shown, the Achean historian makes clear multiple times within his work that if a ruler behaves with moderation towards his subjects and allies, he will receive their goodwill and loyalty (*eunoia* and *pistis*). Kings or rulers who behave as such are praised by Polybius. The behaviour of Antiochus in the passage above clearly seems to fit into this scheme.[762] It is interesting to note that while Antiochus is presented as acting with clemency in Acarnania, the Romans are presented as behaving, in the same region, with violence and force. Towards the end of the Second Macedonian war, Lucius Flamininus had been involved in the affairs of the region and was trying to persuade the Acarnanians to join the Roman side and abandon their alliance with Philip V.[763] Having failed to convince them, he sailed to Leucades, the capital of Acarnania, and laid siege to the city in order to terrify the

[760] Liv. 36.11-12; see also Grainger (2004), 233-236 who provides a detailed account of the events.
[761] Liv. 36.12.5-6 (Transl. adapted from Sage 1965) with Briscoe (1981), 238.
[762] Flamerie de Lachapelle (2012), 131 commented on the same passage 36.12.5-6. Interestingly, he shows how Livy immediately after this episode downplays the positive behaviour of Antiochus by describing his actions at Medeus as a treachery (Liv. 36.12.7). The scholar has no doubts that this detail was inserted by Livy in order to downplay the image of the Seleucid king.
[763] Liv. 33.16-17. For a detailed summary see Thornton (2014), 110-111.

inhabitants.[764] When the Romans realised that the the citizens of Leucades were not going to surrender easily, they entered the city and killed part of the population.[765] This behaviour seems to recall that of Philip V towards the cities of Greece, which has been described in the first section of this excursus.

The last example I will look at concerns the city of Chalcis in Euboea. This city refused to ally with Antiochus and his forces when they visited the area at the beginning of the king's campaign in Greece. Chalcis strongly supported the Romans and told Antiochus that they would not stipulate any new alliance without the Roman consent.[766] The king, thus, left Chalcis and moved forward in his campaign.[767] A little time later, however, he returned to the city and succeeded in entering it.[768] Chalcis was defended by Roman troops as well as by the soldiers of the Achaeans and Eumenes II of Pergamum who were allied to Rome. As regards Antiochus' treatment of his enemies, Livy writes:

> [...] priores Achaei et Eumenis milites pacti, ut sine fraude liceret abire, praesidio excesserunt; pertinacius Romani Euripum tuebantur. hi quoque tamen, cum terra marique obsiderentur et iam machinas tormentaque adportari viderent, non tulere obsidionem. cum id, quod caput erat Euboeae, teneret rex, ne ceterae quidem insulae eius urbes imperium abnuerunt;
>
> The Achaeans and the soldiers of Eumenes were the first to abandon the defence on condition of being allowed to depart in safety. With greater stubbornness the Romans tried to hold the Euripus, but when they too found that they were blockaded by land and sea and that siege artillery was being brought up they were unable to hold out any longer. As the king was now in possession of the capital of Euboea, the other cities on the island did not dispute his dominion.[769]

The passage tells us that Antiochus allowed the Achaean and Pergamene troops to abandon the city unharmed thus showing again his mild disposition towards the defeated enemy.

7.5 Conclusion

In this excursus I examined how Polybius received and used (according to a specific agenda) the foundation story of the city of Lysimachia which was re-founded by Antiochus III in 196

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[764] Liv. 33.17.3: […] inde cum omni genere tormentorum machinarumque, quibus expugnantur urbes ad muros accessit, ad primum terrorem ratus inclinari animos posse. […]
[765] Liv. 33.17.14: […] iamque ipse legatus magno agmine circumvenerat pugnantes. tum pars in medio caesi pars armis abiectis dediderunt sese victori. […]
[766] Liv. 35.46.
[767] Liv. 35.47.
[768] Liv. 33.51.
[769] Liv. 35.51.8-10 with Briscoe (1981).

BC. I have demonstrated that the Achaean historian sketched a precise picture of Antiochus throughout his *Histories*. I have argued that this portrayal is more subtle than generally thought and that, as we have seen, although Polybius does criticise some of the king's choices and actions, he also presents him as a positive figure. Antiochus is portrayed according to Polybius' idea of a proper ruler which, as I have shown, is developed by the historian himself throughout various sections of his work. The Seleucid king is generally presented as acting with magnanimity, clemency and mildness with both his allies and the defeated enemy. This is emphasised when his relationship with the Greek cities is concerned. Thus, he is described as restoring the civic constitutions and the properties of the inhabitants of Seleucia Pieria, Jerusalem, Sardis. In Jerusalem he redeems the citizens who had been sold as slaves. To all these cities he gives benefits and material goods. In addition, Antiochus provides all the necessary material for the reconstruction of Sardis and takes care of the safety of the Greeks who live in Thrace and Hyrcania. The king seems to act magnanimously also with some cities in Greece. I have argued that the foundation story of Lysimachia, which presents the king in such terms, fits well into this framework. As regards the foundation story, I have demonstrated that this shows similarities in content and style with the other Seleucid foundation myths examined in this work; yet, it lacks the mythological elements which appear instead in the accounts of Antioch and Apamea. The Polybian narrative of Antiochus III, in the end, demonstrates once again how the Seleucid kings were perceived in antiquity as *oikistai* par excellence.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has shown how diverse groups used the stories of beginnings and foundation of five Seleucid cities to position themselves and their cities culturally in the post-Seleucid world. From this work, it emerges that memories of Seleucid origins, and of Seleucus I, survived the political collapse of the Seleucid empire in both West and East.

Many centuries after Seleucid Syria, the Western core of the Seleucid empire, was subdued by the Roman and later Byzantine empires, stories of the Seleucid origins of Antioch and Apamea were still actively narrated. The local historian Pausanias of Antioch used foundation stories to position his city within a squarely defined Greco-Roman cultural context in the age of the Antonines. While in this period many Greek cities of the Roman East re-created their past, and alleged their foundation by Alexander the Great, Pausanias instead emphasised Seleucus I as the city's founder. Stories of Seleucid origins were to be used again in fourth-century AD Antioch. The work has shown how Libanius used and manipulated the same foundation myth to vie with the most illustrious and ancient of Greek cities, namely Athens which was praised as such in the Roman world by Aelius Aristides and Menander Rhetor. Instead of emphasising the role of Seleucus I in the creation of the city, Libanius claimed the identity of Antioch as linked to Alexander the Great. He contended in this way that the ancestry of Antioch was superior to that of Athens.

Stories concerning the mythical past of the Seleucid cities also played a relevant role in the negotiation of cultural differences. These were used by the Seleucid cities as tools to position themselves within new cultural contexts. In Antioch, stories concerning the arrival of representatives of the illustrious race of the Argives such as Io, Triptolemus, and Perseus in Antioch were emphasised by Pausanias to position the city in the cultural framework of the Panhellenion; the same stories were also claimed by Libanius to promote the Greek kinship of his city and to compete with the Greek pedigree of Athens. In the sixth century, memories of the Antiochene mythical past appeared again. Malalas, it has been shown, engaged with them to rival the city of Constantinople and its Greek past; his aim was to claim the antiquity and the Greek identity of Antioch.

Mythical origins were also claimed and recreated in third-century AD Seleucid Apamea. The thesis shows that the Seleucid story of the arrival of Heracles in Apamea, as well as the archaic civic toponym Pella, were used by Ps. Oppian at the time of Caracalla. He reinterpreted them to form a link between Apamea, Heracles, and Alexander the Great. The

Apamean poet re-elaborated the narrative in order to present the city within a multifaceted cultural discourse and to appeal to Caracalla's cultural interests.

It has been shown that foundation stories concerning the Seleucid cities in the East also continued to circulate in the post-Seleucid world. The foundation myth of Seleucia on the Tigris was used by Appian in the second century AD to engage directly with the Roman imperial power of the time. In the cultural framework, which developed in the time frame of the Parthian wars under Lucius Verus, the historian praised Seleucus I as the man who, similarly to Alexander the Great, had challenged the Persian enemy and conquered the East.

Foundation myths claiming Seleucus I as a founder continued to be claimed also in the Mesopotamian cities of Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok. In this case, Syriac-speaking civic communities instead of Greek-speaking groups engaged with them. The new Syriac Christian communities of Edessa and Karka de Beth Selok used foundation stories claiming Seleucus I as a founder to negotiate their new identity and to compete with each other. As it has been shown, Jacob, the patriarch of the Syriac Orthodox Church, blurred the Seleucid origins of Edessa and instead emphasised Alexander the Great and the Macedonians as the founders of the city. Not only would the new cultural identity have fitted in the cultural framework of Roman Edessa, but it would have also downplayed the claim made by the rival community of Karka. The latter, in order to promote an Iranian identity, which would have fitted into the new geo-political framework, claimed Seleucus I as the founder of Karka and successor of the Achaemenid Darius. The case of Edessa has also demonstrated how stories of the Seleucid past and origins were continually changing and being recreated over time. It has been suggested that the anonymous author of the *Chronicle to 1234*, in order to develop further and enrich the new reorganization of the past of the Syriac Orthodox community elaborated by Michael the Syrian, would have claimed the Seleucid identity of the city emphasising Seleucus I as the founder of Edessa.

Finally, the excursus has demonstrated that other Seleucid dynasts are represented in civic foundation myths and that also these stories circulated in the post-Seleucid world (Livy and Appian). Unfortunately, the account concerning Antiochus III's refoundation of Lysimachia in Thrace is the only extant evidence of this. The analysis of this account has shown that Polybius used it to discuss the identity of the Seleucid king within his *Histories*.

Through the analysis of all these case studies this dissertation hopes to have demonstrated that Greek origin myths produced in the Hellenistic period played a fundamental yet not fully

explored role in the process of identity perception and construction in various contexts of the Ancient and Medieval worlds.

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Appendix I – Libanius and the origin myth of Antioch

The appendix aims to offer to the reader the full text of the origin myth of Antioch, as transmitted by Libanius in his *Antiochicus* (*Or*. 11), and to present a complete version of it both in Greek and in translation.

Lib. *Or*. 11.43-93[770]

(43) καὶ μακρότερα μὲν δόξω τοῦ καιροῦ λέγειν, εἰρήσεται δὲ πολλοστὸν ὧν εἰπεῖν ἔξεστιν. αἴτιον δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων τὸ πλῆθος, δι’ὃ τῶν πολλῶν σιωπηθέντων τὸ ῥηθὲν τοῦ μήκους οὐ διαφεύξεται δόξαν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀκρίβειαν αἱ συγγραφαὶ φυλάξουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ὅσα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ῥητέον. Ἴναχος ἦν υἱὸς μὲν τῆς Γῆς, Ἰοῦς δὲ πατήρ. τῇ δὲ Ἰοῖ ταύτῃ Ζεὺς ἐραστὴς γενόμενος συνῆν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τὴν Ἥραν, ποιεῖ τὴν ἄνθρωπον βοῦν καὶ οὕτω συνῆν. Ἥρα δέ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ᾔσθετο, πλήττει τὴν βοῦν οἴστρῳ, καὶ δρόμος ἦν αὐτῇ δι’ ἑκατέρας ἠπείρου. (45) Ἴναχος δὲ ζητῶν τὴν αὑτοῦ καὶ εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔχων καὶ λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν ναῦς καθέλκει καὶ ἐμβιβάσας ἄλλους τε Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἡγεμόνα εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῆς ἠφανισμένης θυγατρός. (46) οἱ δὲ πάντα μὲν πόρον ἔτεμνον, πάντα δὲ πορθμὸν διέπλεον, πᾶσαν δὲ ἀκτὴν παρέπλεον, ἀπέβαινον δὲ εἰς νήσους, διηρευνῶντο δὲ παραλίαν, ἀνέβαινον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἤπειρον μέσην γνώμην ἔχοντες πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καταλῦσαι τὴν ζήτησιν. (47) ὡς δὲ προσέσχον καὶ τῇδε τῇ γῇ, τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάντες, νὺξ δὲ ἦν, ἀνήεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος παρὰ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ὀλίγους δή τινας καὶ προσιόντες ταῖς οἰκίαις θυροκοπίᾳ τε ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐρωτήσει περὶ τῆς Ἰοῦς. τυχόντες δὲ ξενίων καί τινα πόθον πρὸς τὴν γῆν λαβόντες τοῦτο πέρας ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ πλοῦ μεταστήσαντες τὴν τῆς ζητήσεως σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τὴν μονήν, ἐφ’ ὃ μὲν ἠπείγοντο, τοῦτο ἀφέντες, ἣν δὲ ἐθαύμασαν γῆν ἐντιμοτέραν θέμενοι τοῦ σκοποῦ, καθ’ ὃν ἐξέπλευσαν. (48) τοῦτο δὲ ἦν οὐκ Ἰοῦς ὑπεριδεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὑπεριδεῖν τῆς οἰκείας· προείρητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμποντος ἢ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἄγειν ἢ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναστρέφειν. ὥσθ’ οἱ τοῦ ζητεῖν παυόμενοι τῆς οἰκείας ἑκόντες ἐστέροντο. (49) εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπ’ ἔσχατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθόντες οὐδενὸς εἰς ζήτησιν ἔτι λειπομένου μένειν ἔγνωσαν, εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς χώρας τὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἤρχετ’ ἄν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολλῆς ὑπαρχούσης, ἐν ᾗ τινες

[770] Translation by Downey (1959).

ἦσαν τῆς εὑρέσεως ἐλπίδες, οὕτως ἐβούλευσαν, οἱ προτιθέντες τῶν ἐλπίδων τὴν μονὴν τῆς οἰκείας δήπου τὴν ξένην προὐτίθεσαν. οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐγοήτευσεν ἡ χώρα. (50) καὶ ὡς ἥψαντο τῆς γῆς, κατάκρας εἶχοντο, καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος φίλτρον ὑπεχώρει τῷ τῆς ἠρηκυίας θαύματι. τὸν δὲ τούτων ὕστερον γενόμενον Ὅμηρον οὐκ ἠξίουν ἔγωγε μηδὲν εἶναι φῆσαι πατρίδος ἀνθρώποις ἥδιον, τῇ δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ψήφῳ καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλάκις ἀμείνων χῶρος ἐπισπασάμενος γνώμας ἀνθρώπων ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐνεγκούσης τὴν μνήμην. (51) οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ὁ κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Ἀργείας κόρης ἱδρύσας ὃν ἦγε λαὸν πόλιν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει Νεμείου προσειπών, Ἰώνην δὲ τῇ πόλει τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνάχου θυγατρός. ἧς γὰρ ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ᾤκισαν τὴν πόλιν, ταύτην ἐτίμησαν τῇ κλήσει τοῦ ἄστεος· ἤδη δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοί τε καὶ καρπούμενοι μετονομάζουσι τὸν Νέμειον Ἐπικάρπιον. (52) Τριπτόλεμος μὲν οὖν τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις βαλόμενος τῇ πόλει μεθίσταται καὶ διὰ τῶν τιμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἠριθμεῖτο· θεὸς δὲ ᾧ κατὰ νοῦν ἡ πόλις κατεσκευάζετο, βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐξῆσαι γενῶν κινεῖ Κάσον ἐκ Κρήτης, ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, καὶ δεῦρο ἄγει, τῷ δὲ ἄρα εἵπετο Κρητῶν τὸ δοκιμώτατον. (53) ἐλθόντες δὲ εὗρον τοὺς Ἀργείους ἀμείνους τῶν οἴκοι. Μίνως μὲν γὰρ φθονῶν ἐξέβαλεν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἀσμένως ἐδέχοντο καὶ μετέδοσαν πόλεώς τε καὶ χώρας καὶ ὅσων αὐτοῖς μετῆν. οὐ μὴν εὖ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ὁ Κάσος ἢ εὖ ποιεῖν ἠπίστατο. καὶ κατιδὼν τῶν Τριπτολέμου νομίμων τὰ πολλὰ μεθεστηκότα ταῦτά τε ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὴν Κασιῶτιν ᾤκισε. (54) μείζω δὲ ἤδη περίνοιαν λαμβάνων ἐπιχειρεῖ κτήσασθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν Κυπρίων εὔνοιαν καὶ γαμεῖ τὴν θυγατέρα Σαλαμίνου, ὃς ἐτυράννει Κυπρίων. πλεούσῃ δὲ τῇ παρθένῳ συνανήγετο στόλος παραπομπὴν τῇ νύμφῃ ποιοῦντες θαλάττιον. ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσαντο τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀφεῖσαν τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἐγένοντο μοῖρα τῇ πόλει. (55) σημεῖον δὴ ποιήσαιτ’ ἄν τις τοῦ κατ’ ἀρετὴν βεβοῆσθαι τὸν Κάσον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα νήσου τοσαύτης τὸ κῆδος ἀσμένως συνάψασθαι καὶ τῆς γε ἡμερότητος τοῦ Κάσου σημεῖον τὸ τοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν κόρην ἀνθελέσθαι τῶν φιλτάτων τὴν προστασίαν ἐκείνου. (56) λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν τινας κατὰ τὴν ἔλασιν ἣν ὑπ’ Εὐρυσθέως ἠλαύνοντο, πολλοὺς Ἠλείων ἄγοντας καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐρώπην ἅπασαν, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὴν ἄλλην ὑπεριδόντας ἐνταῦθα στῆσαι τοὺς μόχθους καὶ αὐτοῦ τε ἱδρυθῆναι καὶ προσθήκην ἀνεγεῖραι τῇ πόλει τὴν Ἡράκλειαν. (57) σκοπείτω δή τις τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ ὡς ὅτιπερ κράτιστον τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ, τοῦτο ἐνταυθοῖ συνερρύηκεν, ὥσπερ εἴς τι χωρίον ἐξῃρημένον ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων εἰς

ὑποδοχὴν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων θαυμάσαι, καὶ μόνοις ἡμῖν αἱ ῥίζαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις σεμνὰ συνήγαγον εἰς ταυτό, τὴν Ἀργείων παλαιότητα, τὴν Κρητικὴν εὐνομίαν, γένος ἐκ Κύπρου βασίλειον, τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀπορροήν. (58) Ἀθήνηθεν δὲ οὓς ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις Ἑλληνικοῖς γένεσιν ἀνεκράθημεν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ λόγος χωρῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἔλθῃ τοὺς χρόνους, εἰρήσεται. (59) Νυνὶ δὲ λεκτέον, ὡς καὶ τῇ Περσικῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἄνωθεν αἰδέσιμον. καὶ νὴ Δία γε καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν θεοῖς ἔντιμον καὶ πρό γε ἐκείνων Ἀσυρίοις. ἐστράτευε μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὁ Καμβύσης, γυνὴ δὲ αὐτῷ Μερόη παρῆν. σκηνώσαντες δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ᾧ τὴν αὑτῆς ἔδωκε προσηγορίαν ἡ γυνή, ἡ μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὡς θύσειε, Σεμίραμις δὲ ἡ Ἀσυρίων ἄρχουσα τῇ θεῷ τὸν νεὼν ἐπεποιήκει. (60) ἰδοῦσα δὲ τὴν ὀροφὴν ὑπὸ γήρως ἀπειρηκυῖαν δεῖται Καμβύσου θεραπεῦσαι τὸ πεπονηκός. ὁ δὲ μετεωρότερόν τε τὸν νεὼν ἦρεν ἐπιβολαῖς τοίχων καὶ περιήλασε περίβολον ἱκανὸν δέξασθαι πανήγυριν, αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ πανηγύρει τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔθετο· ἡ δὲ κλήρους τε ἀνῆκε τῇ δαίμονι καὶ γυναῖκας ἐγκατέστησεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς εὐδαιμονίας τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνέπλησε θρόνους ἀναθεῖσα καὶ κλίνας καὶ τόξα, πάντα χρυσᾶ. (61) τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελεσθέντων ἐπῆλθε τοῖς τὴν Ἰώνην κατοικοῦσι καταβῆναι πρὸς Καμβύσην. ὡς δὲ εἰσήγγειλαν οἷς τοῦτο προσέκειτο, καλεῖ παρ' αὑτὸν καὶ ἤρετο, τίνες ὄντες καὶ τί παθόντες τὴν ἐκείνου κατέχοιεν. (62) γνοὺς δέ, ὅθεν τε ὥρμηντο, καὶ τὰς τύχας ὑφ' ὧν ἐκομίσθησαν, καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ συμμῖξαι βουληθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ παριόντα λαθεῖν, οὐχ ὡς ἀπαιτεῖν δίκαιος ὢν χάριτας τοὺς τὴν αὑτοῦ κατέχοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ὀφείλων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως οὕτω διετέθη τὴν γνώμην. σημεῖον δέ, δῶρα δοὺς ὥσπερ εὐεργέτας ἀπέπεμψε. (63) λεγέτω τοίνυν ὁ βουλόμενος τὴν ἀγριότητα Καμβύσου καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἑαυτοῦ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὸ μετὰ θεῶν τε καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῖς ζῆν τοὺς προγόνους φανεῖται. τὸ γὰρ τὸν ὀργῇ χρώμενον εἰς ἅπαντα καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα ποιούμενον ἡδονὴν κρείττω γενέσθαι τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων θέαν καὶ μὴ παροξυνθῆναι πρὸς ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας τὴν βασιλέως νεμομένους πῶς οὐ θεοῦ τινος ἦν ἄντικρυς ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντος καὶ παρασκευάζοντός γε ἀμφότερα, τοὺς μέν, ὅπως θαρρήσαιεν, τὸν δ' ὅπως μὴ τραχυνθείη, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐξαιροῦντος τὸν φόβον, τοῦ δὲ κοιμίζοντος τὸν θυμόν; (64) καὶ τί δεῖ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν ἀφέντα ἔργον περιφανές; παρὰ θεοῖς ἄνωθεν ἐράσμιος ὁ χῶρος. ὃν γὰρ μέγιστον ἄγουσι θεὸν Πέρσαι τὸν Ἥλιον, καὶ τὰς ϯσατραπείας ὑπ' αὐτῷ Περσίδι φωνῇ, οὗτος, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Καμβύσην ὕπνος

ἔλαβεν, ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ στὰς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐν ὀνείρασιν αὐτῷ διελέγετο κελεύων αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν μηδὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄγειν καὶ προεῖπέ γε, ὡς πόλιν ὁ τόπος δέξεται, Μακεδόνων ποίημα. (65) Καμβύσης δὲ χαρίζεται τῷ θεῷ καὶ πλησίον που τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἱδρύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐδέξατο τὸν Περσῶν θεὸν ἔνοικόν τε καὶ ἐραστὴν ὁ τόπος καὶ μάντιν τῆς μελλούσης τύχης οὐδὲν τοῦ Καμβύσου πρὸς τὴν πρόρρησιν παθόντος ὧν εἴωθεν ἐμποιεῖν ὁ φθόνος. (66) οἱ μὲν οὖν λαμπρύνοντες τάς τε Ἀθήνας καὶ Κορινθίων τὸ ἄστυ θεομαχίας περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἱστᾶσιν, ὑπὲρ Κορίνθου μὲν Ἡλίου πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν, καὶ μικροῦ διαλύουσι τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ παντὸς εἰς τὴν τῆς θεομαχίας τόλμαν δυσσεβέσι κόσμοις κοσμοῦντες ἃς ἐπαινοῦσι πόλεις καὶ διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὕβρεως πληροῦντες τῆς εὐνοίας τὴν χάριν, ἀγνοοῦντες, ὡς ἑνὶ τούτῳ ψεύδει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαίνων ἀφαιροῦνται τὴν πίστιν. (67) ἡμῖν δὲ ἐρασταὶ μὲν γεγόνασι θεοί, πόλεμος δὲ ἐκείνοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδείς, οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις· ὥστε τὸ μὲν καλὸν τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τῇδε, ὃ δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνοις κρεῖττον ἂν ἦν μὴ ῥηθέν, τοῦτο τῇδε οὐ τετόλμηται. (68) ἔχοντες τοίνυν τὴν Ἰώνην οἱ τότε, παῖδες ἀεὶ παρὰ πατέρων δεχόμενοι, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μὲν εἰς ἀλλήλους χρώμενοι, τὸν δὲ βίον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ποιούμενοι καὶ τελοῦντες τὰ εἰκότα τοῖς θεοῖς μετ’ εὐδαιμονίας ἁπάσης ᾤκουν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ βαρβάρῳ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεχόμενοι καὶ τηρήσαντες τὸ ἦθος καθαρὸν ἐν τοσαύτῃ νόσῳ τῇ κύκλῳ κατὰ τὸν ἐπ’ Ἀλφειῷ νενικηκότα μῦθον, ὃς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς Σικελίαν ἄγει τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ θαλάσσης μέσης ἀμιγῆ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν. (69) Οὐ μὴν εὐθὺς ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, οὕτω γὰρ ἦν, οἶμαι, συμφέρον, ἀλλ’ ἀνέμενεν ἡ ταύτης αὔξησις τὸν ἀμείνω χρόνον· τέως δὲ ἐν βραχυτέρῳ διῆγε πλάσματι μένουσα ἐλάττων, ἡνίκα οὐ βέλτιον εἶναι μείζω. (70) τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; εἰ τὸ μέτρον αὐτῆς ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξῆκτο τῆς γῆς ἔτι Περσῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐχόντων, οἳ καὶ χρήμασιν ἴσχυον καὶ ὅπλοις ἔρρωντο καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξέλαμπον, ἦν ἀνάγκη καλουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων εἰς κοινωνίαν στρατείας ἢ πειθομένους στρατεύεσθαι ἢ μὴ πειθομένους Πέρσαις πολεμεῖν, μίαν δὴ πόλιν τοσαύτῃ βασιλείᾳ. ἦν δ’ ἂν οὔτε ἐκεῖνο καλὸν οὔτε τοῦτο ἀκίνδυνον. (71) νῦν δὲ οὐκ αὐξηθέντες παρὰ καιρόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτῳ σχήματος στάντες, ὃ καὶ τοῦ δρᾶν τι δυσχερὲς καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν τι κακὸν ἀπήλλαττεν, εἰς μέγεθος προὔβησαν, ἡνίκα ἄρχειν ἔδει, οἷα παῖδες εὐγενεῖς ἐν τυραννίδι μὲν τῇ νεότητι διαλαθόντες, εἰς ἡλικίαν δὲ ἐλθόντες ἤδη πεπαυμένης. (72) μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δαρείου φυγὴν

Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ μὲν ἔχων, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν κεκρατημένον μικρὸν ἡγούμενος, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς ἦκεν εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, στησάμενος δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐγγὺς τῆς πηγῆς, ἣ νῦν μὲν ἐκείνου ποιήσαντος εἰς ἱεροῦ τύπον ἐσχημάτισται, τότε δὲ αὐτῇ κάλλος ἦν μόνον τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐνταῦθα τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύων ἐπὶ τοῖς πόνοις πίνει τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαφανὲς καὶ ἥδιστον. (73) ἡ δὲ τῆς πόσεως ἡδονὴ τοῦ μητρῴου μαστοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνέμνησε καὶ πρός τε τοὺς συνόντας ἐξεῖπεν, ὡς ὅσαπερ ἐκείνῳ, τοσαῦτα ἐνείη τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ τοὔνομα τῆς μητρὸς ἔδωκε τῇ πηγῇ. Δαρείῳ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνοντι Τέαρος ἐν Θρᾴκῃ ποταμὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι κάλλιστος, καὶ στήλην ὁ Δαρεῖος στήσας τοῦτο ἐνέγραψεν αὐτῇ Τέαρον εἶναι ποταμῶν κάλλιστον· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν πηγὴν οὐ πρὸς ὑδάτων ἄμιλλαν ἐξήγαγε, τῷ δὲ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξίσωσε γάλακτι. τοσαύτην εὗρεν ἐν τοῖς νάμασι τὴν ἡδονήν. (74) τοιγαροῦν ἤσκησέ τε εὐθὺς τὸν τόπον κρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς <ἐνῆν> ἐν τοσούτῳ δρόμῳ τῷ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ὀξύτατον ἔθει, καὶ πόλιν ὥρμησεν οἰκίζειν, ὡς ἂν ἐντυχὼν τόπῳ δυναμένῳ χωρῆσαι τὴν αὑτοῦ μεγαλοπρέπειαν. (75) διττῷ δὲ πόθῳ κατειλημμένος, τῷ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑπολοίπων κτῆσιν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀναγκάζοντος μένειν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπείγοντος τρέχειν [καὶ] τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνθελκόμενος εἰς οἰκισμόν τε καὶ πόλεμον οὐκ ἐποιήσατο κώλυμα θατέρῳ θάτερον οὐδὲ ἠνέσχετο οὔτε τὴν ὅλην σπουδὴν ἀνελεῖν διὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ἐκείνην πληρῶν ἣν εἰς τὸ πολίζειν ἔσχεν ἐπιθυμίαν σβέσαι, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐχόμενος τῇ μὲν ἐδίδου τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν. (76) αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ κατοικισμοῦ Ζεὺς Βοττιαῖος ἱδρυθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου <καὶ> ἡ ἄκρα τῆς ἐκείνου πατρίδος λαβοῦσα τοὔνομα καὶ Ἡμαθία κληθεῖσα. τουτὶ δέ, οἶμαι, σύμβολον ἦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γνώμης, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῶν πραγμάτων τήνδε ἀντὶ τῆς οἰκείας αἱρήσεται. (77) τοιαῦτα δὴ προοίμια τῆς οἰκίσεως ἅσας καὶ τελῶν ἡμῖν εἰς οἰκιστὰς ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς λεγόμενός τε καὶ πιστωσάμενος τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν φήμην αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς τὸν τοκέα τὴν ταχίστην μεταστὰς οὐκ ἔσχε τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πόθῳ· ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνον διαδεξάμενος, μᾶλλον δ' ἐν πολλοῖς διαδόχοις μόνος ἄξιος τῆς ἐκείνου τάξεως κληρονόμος, Σέλευκος ἀντ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ πόλει γίνεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνδραγαθίᾳ κτησάμενος καὶ πρότερον καὶ δεύτερον. (78) οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐβοήθησε, τούτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν μείζους ἐποίησεν· οὓς δὲ ἐποίησεν ἰσχυρούς, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπεβουλεύετο. σωθεὶς δὲ ἐκ μέσης τῆς πάγης πάλιν ἑτέροις βοηθῶν ἐθαυμάζετο. τυχὼν δὲ τούτων δικαίων ἐν τῷ μέρει τὴν χάριν

ἀπελάμβανεν. ἡ δὲ χάρις ἦν κομίσασθαι ταῦτα ὧν ἐξέπεσεν ἀδικούμενος. (79) ὁ Σέλευκος γὰρ διὰ μὲν εὐψυχίαν ἵππαρχος ὑπὸ Περδίκκου γίνεται, Περδίκκου δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τελευτήσαντος καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου δυναστείαν εἰσῆλθε καὶ εἶχε σατραπείαν τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν. (80) Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς Εὐμενῆ σύμμαχος ἐλθὼν τὸν μὲν Εὐμενῆ συγκαθεῖλε, πονηρὸν δὲ ἄρα τὸν Ἀντίγονον εὖ ποιῶν οὐκ ᾔδει· ὃς ἐπειδὴ δι’ ἐκείνου μέγας ἐγεγόνει, φθόνον εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην λαβὼν ἐβούλευε θάνατον. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ θεῶν τις χεῖρα ὑπερέσχεν, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας ὅ τε φόνος αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας εὑρίσκετο. (81) τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Θησέως τὴν ὥραν Ἀριάδνη θαυμάσασα τῇ μηρίνθῳ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τὸν νεανίσκον ἐξέσωσε, Σελεύκου δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ παῖς Ἀντιγόνου Δημήτριος ἀγασθεὶς γράμμασι μηνύει τὸν ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πατρὸς δόλον, ἃ τῷ στύρακι τοῦ δορὸς εἰς τὴν κόνιν ἐνέγραψε τῷ μὲν δηλῶν τὸ μέλλον, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας λανθάνων. (82) ἐντεῦθεν τὰ Εὐαγόρου Σέλευκος ὑπέμενε καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἴσχυσε. τῷ καιρῷ μὲν γὰρ ὑποχωρήσας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπαλλάττεται, βεβαιούμενος δὲ αὐτόθι Πτολεμαίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, οὐ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς παρεχόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἓν σῶμα τὸ αὑτοῦ καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασιν ἀσφάλειαν περιέθηκεν, ἐπεσπάσατο Πτολεμαῖον εἰς τὸ κατάγειν αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἱππέας καὶ πεζούς, ἀμφοτέρους εἰς χιλίους, ἐξέωσε μὲν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἐκομίσατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν λαμπρότητα. (83) ἡγησάμενος δὲ τὰ μὲν αὑτοῦ διὰ τούτων ἀπειληφέναι, τὴν δίκην δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὀφείλεσθαι στρατεύσας ἐπ’ Ἀντίγονον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ συμβαλὼν καὶ νικήσας ἀπέκτεινε τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐνέδρας ἐμφανεῖ μάχῃ τὴν τιμωρίαν πραξάμενος καὶ τὴν μὲν διαφυγών, ὡς ἄν τις θεοφιλής, τὴν δὲ ἐπιθείς, ὡς ἄν τις ἀρετὴν ἠσκηκώς. (84) Ἀντιγόνου δὲ ἤδη κειμένου γίνεται τὰ τοῦ πεσόντος τοῦ νενικηκότος, καὶ ὡρίζετο ἡ δυναστεία Σελεύκου Βαβυλῶνί τε καὶ τοῖς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ὅροις. καὶ χρόνος ἄρα ἐφειστήκει τίκτων ὥσπερ πάλαι τῇ πόλει τὰς ἀρχάς, οὕτω τότε τὸ μέγεθος. (85) καὶ γίγνεται τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ. πόλις ἦν Ἀντιγόνου μὲν ἐπώνυμος, ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου δὲ πεποιημένη. τῆς δὲ νῦν οὔσης πόλεως τὸ μεταξὺ πρὸς ἐκείνην στάδιοι τετταράκοντα. ἐν ταύτῃ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὁ Σέλευκος ἔθυε, τοῦ ταύρου δὲ ἐσφαγμένου καὶ δεδεγμένων τῶν βωμῶν ὁπόσα νόμος, ἤδη μὲν τὸ πῦρ περιεῖπε τὰ κείμενα καὶ σφοδρὸν ἀνεκάετο. (86) Ζεὺς δὲ κινήσας ἐκ τοῦ σκήπτρου τὸν ἑταῖρον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φίλον ὄρνιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ εἰς μέσην καταποτώμενος τὴν φλόγα ἀνελόμενος τὰ μηρία γέμοντα

πυρὸς ἀπέφερε. (87) τοῦ συμβάντος δὲ πάντα ὀφθαλμόν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπιστρέφοντος καὶ δηλοῦντος ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν ἐδρᾶτο, τὸν υἱὸν ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναβιβάσας ὁ Σέλευκος εἰς τὸ τὴν πτῆσιν ἀπὸ γῆς διώκειν καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸν ἵππον ἰθύνειν πρὸς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ πτεροῦ, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, τί τοῖς ἡρπασμένοις ὁ ὄρνις χρήσεται. (88) ὁ δ' ἱππεύων τε καὶ ἀναβλέπων ἄγεται πρὸς τὴν Ἡμαθίαν ὑπὸ τῆς πτήσεως. οἳ δὴ κατάρας ὁ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔθηκε τὸν τοῦ Βοττιαίου Διός, ὃν ἱδρυσάμενος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἡνίκα αὐτὸν εὔφρανεν ἡ πηγή· ἐδόκει τε δὴ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς οὐ δεινοῖς συμβάλλειν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰσηγεῖσθαι πολίζειν τὸν χῶρον. καὶ οὕτως ἥ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὁρμή τε καὶ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τέλος ἦει καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος διὰ τῆς μαντείας οἰκιστὴς ἐγίγνετο. (89) ἐνταῦθα δὴ Σέλευκος πᾶσαν μὲν τεκτόνων συνήγαγε τέχνην, πᾶσαν δὲ εἰς ὑπουργίαν χεῖρα, πᾶσαν δὲ λίθων φαιδρότητα· ὕλη δὲ εἰς ὀροφὰς ἐτέμνετο, πλοῦτος δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐξεχεῖτο. (90) ὑπογράφων δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας κατὰ τὴν χώραν διίστη τῶν ἐσομένων πύργων, στοῶν δὲ καὶ στενωπῶν μῆκός τε καὶ εὖρος τεμνόμενος πυροῖς ἐχρῆτο πρὸς τὴν τομήν, οὓς ἄγουσαι νῆες εἱστήκεσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ. (91) καὶ ταχὺ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἤρετο, ταχὺ δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐπίμπλατο τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰώνης εἰς αὐτὴν καταβάντων Ἀργείων καὶ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, οἷς ἦν, οἶμαι, συγγένεια Σελεύκῳ κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν Τήμενον, καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων αὐτῷ Σελεύκῳ στρατιωτῶν τῇδ' ἑλομένων οἰκεῖν. (92) Ἀντιγονίαν δὲ αὐτὴν μὲν ἠφάνισεν, ἀνδρὸς δυσμενοῦς ὑπόμνημα, τὸ δὲ πλήρωμα δεῦρο μετέστησεν, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ μεταστάντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδεισαν, μὴ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ὀργῆς ἀπολαύσειαν, ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἐπ' ἀμείνοσι μετακομισθέντες, τιμῶσιν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τὸν Σέλευκον ταύρου κέρατα τῇ κεφαλῇ προσθέντες, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ γνώρισμα τῆς Ἰοῦς. (93) Σελεύκου μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις ἐπώνυμος, τοὔνομα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιόχου, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τούτου δεδημιούργηται, τῷ δὲ ἔσωσε τὴν μνήμην· ὃν γὰρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τιμιώτατον ἦγε, τούτῳ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἐντιμότατον ἔνειμε.

43. And though I may seem to speak at greater length than the occasion war- rants, my discourse will include only a small part of the things concerning which it would be possible to speak. The reason for this is the multitude of the subjects which pertain to ancient times; and because of this, even though many things be passed over in silence, what is said will not fail to seem lengthy. The historical treatises will preserve exact accounts; we need speak only of so much as is fitting for the present occasion. 44. Inachus was the son of Ge and the father of lo. Zeus became smitten with love for this lo, and lay with her. Since this did not escape Hera, he changed the human maiden into a cow and lay

with her in this fashion. But Hera-for she knew of this too-smote the cow with a gadfly, and she wandered through both continents. 45. Inachus, seeking his daughter and unable to find her, and desiring mightily to recover her, put ships to sea, and sent aboard them the Argives who are well known in the tale, making Triptolemus the leader of the whole undertaking, and sent them forth in search of his vanished daughter. 46. And they sailed every route, penetrated every strait, passed every headland, went ashore on islands, searched the shores, went up far into the midst of the mainland, being resolved to die before they gave up the search. 47. As they came here to this country, and came out of their ships, it was night; and they went up to the mountain among the inhabitants, who were few in number, and approached their dwellings and knocked on the doors and made inquiry concerning lo. They found a hospitable welcome; and coming to love the country, they made this the end of their voyage, exchanging their eagerness in the search for a desire to remain. And so, giving up the purpose by which they had been urged on, they put the land which they admired above the goal for which they had set sail. 48. This undertaking had been that they should not fail to find lo, but that they should put aside all thought of their native land; for it had been laid upon them, by him who sent them forth, either to bring the maiden back, or not to return themselves. Thus, when they ceased their search, they were willing to be cut off from their native land. 49. If indeed they had travelled to the ends of the world, and had then decided to stay when nothing remained to be searched, the cause of their guilt would have been necessity, and not simply love of the country; since, however, they made this decision when much of the world remained in which there was some hope of making the discovery, those who put their desire to remain before their hopes really preferred this strange country to their native land. It was to such a degree as this that the land enchanted them. 50. And when they had occupied the land, they were possessed by it completely, and the spell of their fatherland gave way completely before their admiration of the land which had bound them to it. I could wish that Homer, who lived after these events, had not said that nothing is sweeter to men than their fatherland, but had, because of the decision of the Argives, said the opposite, namely that often a better land, drawing men's desires to itself, drives out the remembrance of their native land. 51. And so Triptolemus, who had set out in search of the Argive maiden, settled the people whom he had brought with him and built a city under the mountain and in the city a temple of Zeus, whom he called Nemean; but he gave the name lone to the city, from the daughter of Inachus. For since it was on giving up the search for her that they settled in the city, they did honor to her by choosing this name for the town. And when they worked the land and reaped its fruits, they changed the epithet of Zeus from Nemean to Fruit-bringing. 52. So Triptolemus, when he had laid the first foundations of the city, was removed from among men and because of the honors due him was numbered among the heroes. Then the god according to whose desire the city was created, wishing it to be increased by the finest races, moved Casus to leave Crete, a goodly man, and brought him here, and the noblest of the Cretans followed him. 53. When they came, they found the Argives better than the people they had left at home. For Minos in jealousy had driven them out; but the Argives received them gladly, and

gave them a share of the city and of the land and of whatever they possessed. Casus indeed did not wish to receive in good treatment more than he gave in good works. And seeing that many of the laws of Triptolemus had been altered, he revived them, and he founded Casiotis. 54. And as he acquired greater knowledge of affairs, he sought to win the good will of the people of Cyprus for the city, and married the daughter of Salaminus, who ruled over the people of Cyprus. As the maiden set sail, there came with her a fleet which formed an escort over the sea for the bride. And when they tasted the pleasures of our land, they gave up their island and became a part of the city. 55. One could find proof of Casus being celebrated because of his virtues in the fact that the ruler of so great an island was glad to be connected with him by marriage, and proof also of the kindness of Casus in the circumstance that those who brought the maiden preferred his protection to their dearest kin. 56. It is said also that some of the Heracleidae, after the exile to which they were driven by Eurystheus, taking with them many Eleans, after they had seen and disapproved of the whole of Europe and the remainder of Asia, put an end here to their toils and settled themselves and built Heracleia as an addition to the city. 57. Let one consider our noble descent, and the way in which whatever was finest in all places has flowed together here, as though to a place chosen by the gods to receive men worthy of admiration. We alone have origins which have brought together in the same place the noble elements provided by each of our sources: the high antiquity of the Argives, the just laws of the Cretans, a royal race from Cyprus, and the line of Heracles. 58. As for those whom we received from Athens, and all the other Greek breeds with which we have been blended, the tale will be told later, when our discourse in its progress has come to those times. 59. Now we must tell how the place was from of old regarded with veneration by the Persian kingdom. And by Zeus it was not only honored by the Persian gods, but by the Assyrians before them. Once Cambyses was conducting a campaign against Egypt, and his queen Meroe was with him. They being encamped in the place to which the queen gave her name, she went to the temple of Artemis to sacrifice; for Semiramis the ruler of the Assyrians had built the temple for the goddess. 60. And seeing that the roof was worn out through old age, she begged Cambyses to mend the damage. So he raised the temple to a greater height by making additions to the walls, and built round it a sacred precinct suitable for the accommodation of the festival; and to this festival he gave the name of his queen. She for her part presented lands to the goddess and established priestesses to care for the shrine and filled it with the riches of Persia, dedicating thrones and couches and bows, all of gold. 61. When these things had been accomplished, those who dwelt in lone decided to go down to Cambyses. So when they were announced by those whose duty it was to do so, he called them to him and asked them who they were and how they had come to live in his land. 62. When he learned whence they had come, and the fortunes which had brought them there, he marvelled that they wished to enter into relations with him rather than lie hidden as he passed by, and he conducted himself not as one who had the right to demand thanks from those who dwelt on his land, but as one who himself was indebted to them for living there. The proof of this is that he gave them gifts as though they were benefactors and sent them away. 63. Let anyone who wishes now allege the

fierceness of Cambyses, and say that he was not master of himself. It appears rather from this that our forebears lived both with gods and under their protection. That a man who vented his wrath on everyone, and made cruelty a pleasure, should have overcome his nature at the sight of those men and should not have been provoked to anger against Hellenes who dwelt in the land of the Great King-how can this have failed to be the work of some god who sent these men straight to his tent and arranged both things, namely that they should have courage, and that he should not be harsh, and likewise exorcised their fear, and allayed his anger? 64. And why need one speak in terms of inferences and dis- regard a well-known fact? The country has been from of old beloved of the gods. For the god whom the Persians hold to be the greatest, Helios, under whose auspices they conduct their campaigns-he is called Mithras in the Persian tongue-this god, when sleep had come upon Cambyses, stood above his head in a dream, during his first sleep, and spoke to him, commanding him to stop there and not to proceed to Egypt, and also foretold that the spot would receive a city, a creation of the Macedonians. 65. Cambyses gave thanks to the god and nearby established a shrine of the brother of Artemis. And thus the place received the deity of the Persians as a dweller in it and a lover of it and a prophet of its coming fortune; and Cambyses, at the prophecy, suffered none of the passion which envy is wont to stir up. 66. The men who glorify Athens and Corinth set up battles of the gods over the cities-over Corinth, of Helios against the ruler of the sea, and over Attica, of Athena against this same god; and they almost undo the harmony of the whole by their recklessness in writing of these battles of gods, trying to adorn the cities which they praise by means of impious ornaments, and seeking to gratify human beings by means of this impiety against the gods, not knowing that by this one lie they destroy confidence in their other praises. 67. With us the gods have become lovers of our land, but there was no war among them over it, for this would not have been lawful. In this way, that which was fair among the Hellenes exists here also, but that which, among them, was better not spoken of, no one here has dared to do. 68. And so the men of that time occupied lone, the sons regularly taking it over from their fathers; and dealing justly with one another, and getting their living from the ground and paying the accustomed honors to the gods, they lived in all happiness in the midst of the barbarians, producing a city which was a true Hellas and keeping their way of life pure in the midst of so much corruption all around them, like that myth about the Alpheios which has survived to our time, which has it that the river flowed from the Peloponnese to Sicily through the midst of the sea, but yet was unmixed with the sea. 69. The city indeed did not at once become large and populous-it was better, I think, this way-but its growth awaited a more favorable time; it existed in a restricted shape, remaining small, for as long as it was not better for it to be larger. 70. What does this mean? If its size had extended over the greatest possible amount of land when Asia was still held by the Persians, who were strong in their wealth and stout in arms and brilliant in all things, it would have been necessary for the people of the city, when called by their rulers to take part in their campaigns, either to obey and go to war, or not to obey and fight the Persians, one city against so great an empire. The former course would not have been seemly nor the latter free from danger. 71.

But then, since the inhabitants had not increased contrary to what was fitting to the times, but had stood still at that point in their size which excused them from doing anything unpleasant and from suffering any evil, they advanced to their greatness, when it was time to rule, like nobly-born boys who escape notice on account of their youth under a tyranny, but reach young manhood when the tyranny has already ceased. 72. For after the battle at Issus and the flight of Darius, Alexander, who possessed part of Asia, but desired the rest of it, since he thought little of what he had already won, but instead looked toward the ends of the earth, came to this region, and pitched his tent near the spring which now, through his work, has the form of a shrine, though its only adornment then was its water; and re- freshing his body there after his toils he drank the cold clear sweet water of the spring. 73. The sweetness of the drink reminded Alexander of his mother's breast; and he said to his companions that everything that was in his mother's breast was in the water too; and he gave his mother's name to the spring. When Darius was campaigning against the Scythians, the river Tearos in Thrace seemed to him the fairest of rivers, and setting up a tablet, Darius inscribed upon it that the Tearos was the fairest among rivers; Alexander however did not put our spring into a con- test with other waters, but declared it equal to the milk of Olympias. So great was the pleasure which he found in these streams. 74. Wherefore he at once adorned the spot with a fountain and with such of the other appropriate details as were possible on such a campaign, which he was con- ducting in the swiftest possible manner; and he began to build a city, since he had found a spot which was capable of giving scope to his own magnificence. 75. Possessed of a two-fold desire, both for our land, and for the possession of the remaining lands, and constrained by the one to remain, and driven by the other to hasten on, and with his soul torn between the desire to settle and the desire to carry on the war, he did not make either of these wishes an obstacle to the other; for he did not insist either upon ruining his whole purpose for the sake of the city, or upon fulfilling that purpose, and giving up the desire which he had to found the city; but maintaining both plans he gave the city its beginnings, and led his army on to Phoenicia. 76. The beginnings of the settlement were a shrine of Zeus Bottiaeus founded by Alexander, and the citadel, which took the name of this fatherland and was called Emathia. And this I think was an indication of Alexander's purpose, namely that after the completion of his deeds he would choose this place in preference to his homeland. 77. Having celebrated such beginnings for the settlement, and counting therefore among our founders, he who was both called the son of Zeus, and made this name secure by his works, was translated swiftly to his father, and could not bring his plan to completion. And he who received the power after him-or rather among many successors was the only one worthy of Alexander's rank-Seleucus came to the city in place of Alexander, having won his power by valor not only once but a second time as well. 78. For indeed he came to the assistance of some, whom he made greater than their enemies; and then he was plotted against by those whom he had made strong. But being saved from the midst of this trap, he again roused admiration by giving his aid to still others. Finding these men just, he received due return from them. And this thanks was the return to him of the lands from which he had unjustly been driven out. 79. For Seleucus for his

courage had been made commander of cavalry by Perdiccas; and when Perdiccas died in Egypt, and he was summoned by the Macedonians to take over Perdiccas' power, he went and held the satrapy of Babylonia. 80. And when Antigonus was warring against Eumenes, he joined him as an ally and assisted in the destruction of Eumenes, not know- ing that Antigonus, whom he assisted, was an evil man. And then that man, when he had be- come great through the help of Seleucus, became jealous of his benefactor and plotted his death. From this point on, one of the gods must have held his hand over him, as in a drama; for he found the way to salvation through the same house which had plotted his destruction. 81. For just as Ariadne, smitten with the beauty of Theseus, saved the youth from the labyrinth with the ball of cord, Demetrius, son of Antigonus, admiring the valor of Seleucus, gave warning of his father's plot against him with a message which he wrote in the dust with the shaft of his spear, thus revealing what was to happen, and at the same time escaping the notice of the others present. 82. From this time on Seleucus suffered the same fate as Evagoras, and a little later be- came powerful again. For he yielded to the circumstances of the moment and went away to Egypt; and there he established Ptolemy firmly in his kingdom, not providing him with a numerous army, but only with his own body and his own spirit; and after he had made Ptolemy's affairs secure, he persuaded Ptolemy to send him home, and receiving cavalry and foot troops, both to the number of a thousand, he drove his enemies out of Babylon, and won back his kingdom and his wife and children, and his former splendor. 83. And now, considering that while he had thus won back what belonged to him, justice was still due him for the treachery against him, he made war on Antigonus, and meeting him in Phrygia and conquering him, he slew him in open combat, thus exacting vengeance for the plot against him- self; in this fashion he escaped the treachery like one dear to the gods, and returned vengeance for it like one who was practised in virtue. 84. So when Antigonus was dead, what had belonged to the vanquished passed to the victor, and the empire of Seleucus was bounded by Babylon on one side and by the confines of Egypt on the other. And now a time of production came, like that season which of old brought forth the beginnings of our city; but this season brought forth its great size. 85. And everything came to pass according to the divine will. There existed a city named for Antigonus, created by Antigo- nus. The distance between the present city and it was forty stadia. In this city, after his victory, Seleucus offered sacrifice; and when the bull was slain, and the altars were provided with every- thing according to custom, the fire seized on the offerings and burned freely. 86. And Zeus dis- patched from his sceptre and sent to the altar his companion the beloved bird. It flew down into the midst of the fire, and seizing the thighs, wrapped in flame, carried them away. 87. And when this occurrence fixed the eye and attention of everyone, showing that what was done was not done without the gods, Seleucus put his son on his horse, to follow the flight from the earth, and to guide the horse along the route of the bird, wishing to know what the eagle would do with the things it had carried off. 88. And he, riding with his gaze fixed upward, was guided to Emathia by the flight of the bird. The eagle, descending there, placed the offerings on the altar of Zeus Bottiaeus, which had been founded by Alexander, when the spring refreshed him; and it seemed to all, even to those not

skilled in augury, that Zeus was advising that a city be built on the place. Thus Alexander's original desire for a settlement, and his beginning of the under- taking, moved toward completion; and the chief of the gods became our founder through his prophetic sign. 89. Then Seleucus collected artisans representing every skill, all sources of labor for assistance, and all the finest possible stones. Forests were cut down for roofs, and wealth was poured into the work of building. 90. Outlining the city, he stationed the elephants at intervals, at the places where the towers were to be, and to mark out the length and breadth of colonnades and side streets he used, for the dividing lines, wheat which had been brought by ships which stood in the river. 91. And quickly the city rose; and quickly what was built was filled with those who came down to the city from lone, Argives and Cretans and the descendants of Heracles-who were, I be- lieve, related to Seleucus through Temenus of old-and with the soldiers who followed Seleucus, who chose this place for their home. 92. Antigonia itself he obliterated, since it was a memorial of an evil man, and he removed hither the population, among whom were Athenians. These people who were resettled were at first fearful that they might suffer the anger which had been directed against Antigonus; but when they learned that they had been brought to a better lot in life, they honored Seleucus with a bronze statue, adding bull's horns to the head, this being the mark of lo. 93. From Seleucus the city took its surname, but its name from his father Antiochus, and while it was created by the former, it preserved the memory of the latter; for to the man, whom, of his family, he held the most in honor, Seleucus dedicated the most honoured of his own works.

Appendix II – Pausanias of Antioch/Malalas and the origin stories of the Tetrapolis of Syria

The appendix aims to offer to the reader the full text of the origin myth of the four cities of the Seleucid Tetrapolis as transmitted by Malalas in his work and to present a complete version of it both in Greek and in translation.

Malal. 8.11-18 (= p. 198-204 Dindorf = p. 150-154 Thurn)[771]

(1) ὁ δὲ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν νίκην ᾿Αντιγόνου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ, βουλόμενος κτίσαι πόλεις διαφόρους, ἤρξατο κτίζειν πρῶτον εἰς τὴν πάραλον τῆς Συρίας. καὶ κατελθὼν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν εἶδεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κειμένην πόλιν μικράν <ἥτις ἐλέγετο Παλαῖα πόλις>, ἥντινα ἔκτισε Σύρος ὁ υἱὸς ᾿Αγήνορος. τῇ δὲ κϑ̄ τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἀπριλίου μηνὸς ἦλθε θυσιάσαι εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Κάσιον Διὶ Κασίῳ, καὶ πληρώσας τὴν θυσίαν καὶ κόψας τὰ κρέα ηὔξατο ποῦ χρὴ κτίσαι πόλιν· καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἥρπασεν ἀετὸς ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας καὶ κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν πόλιν· καὶ κατεδίωξεν ὀπίσω Σέλευκος καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὀρνοσκόποι, καὶ ηὗρε τὸ κρέας ῥιφὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κάτω τῆς παλαιᾶς πόλεως ἐν τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τῆς λεγομένης Πιερίας. καὶ περιχαράξας τὰ τείχη εὐθέως ἔβαλε θεμελίους, καλέσας αὐτὴν Σελεύκειαν πόλιν εἰς ἴδιον ὄνομα. καὶ εὐχαριστῶν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς ᾿Ιώπολιν, καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπετέλεσεν ἑορτὴν ἐκεῖ τῷ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κτισθέντι ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Πίκου καὶ Δανάης, τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος, ἔνθα κεῖται ἡ ᾿Ιώπολις, ποιήσας τὴν θυσίαν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ᾿Αρτεμισίου μηνός.

(2) καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐλθὼν ᾿Αντιγονίαι τῇ κτισθείσῃ ὑπὸ ᾿Αντιγόνου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ – ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς λίμνης ἐξερχομένου ἄλλου ποταμοῦ ᾿Αρχευθᾶ τοῦ καὶ ᾿Ιάφθα , ἐμεσάζετο ἡ πόλις ᾿Αντιγονία καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλείαι ἐκαθέζετο – καὶ ποιήσας ἐκεῖ θυσίαν τῶι Διὶ εἰς τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ ᾿Αντιγόνου κτισθέντας ἔκοψε τὰ κρέα, καὶ ηὔξατο ἅμα τῷ ἱερεῖ ᾿Αμφίονι μαθεῖν διαδιδομένου σημείου εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀφείλει οἰκῆσαι πόλιν ᾿Αντιγονίαν μετονομάζων αὐτὴν ἢ οὐκ ὀφείλει αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κτίσαι πόλιν ἄλλην ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ. καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος κατῆλθεν ἀετὸς μέγας, καὶ ἐπῆρεν ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως κρέα, καὶ ἀπῆλθε παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σίλπιον. καὶ καταδιώξας ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ εὗρε τὸ κρέας τὸ ἱερατικὸν καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἐπάνω ἑστῶτα. τοῦ δὲ ἱερέως

[771] Translation by Jeffrey et. al., 1986.

καὶ τῶν ὀρνοσκόπων καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου ἑωρακότων τὸ θαῦμα, εἶπον ὅτι ʽἐνταῦθα δεῖ ἡμᾶς οἰκῆσαι, ἐν τῇ δὲ ᾽Αντιγονίαι οὐ δεῖ ἡμᾶς οἰκῆσαι, οὐτε δὲ γενέσθαι αὐτὴν πόλιν, ὅτι οὐ βούλονται τὰ θεῖα᾽. καὶ λοιπὸν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὰς ῥύσεις τοῦ Σιλπίου ὄρους καὶ τοὺς κατερχομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ χειμάρρους, ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι τοῦ αὐλῶνος κατέναντι τοῦ ὄρους πλησίον τοῦ Δράκοντος ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ μετακληθέντος ᾽Ορόντου, ὅπου ἦν ἡ κώμη ἡ καλουμένη Βοττία ἄντικρυς τῆς ᾽Ιωπόλεως, ἐκεῖ διεχάραξαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ τείχους, θυσιάσας δι᾽ ᾽Αμφίονος ἀρχιερέως καὶ τελεστοῦ κόρην παρθένον ὀνόματι Αἰμάθην , κατὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μηνὶ ᾽Αρτεμισίῳ τῷ καὶ Μαίῳ κβ̄, ὥραι ἡμερινῇ α̅, τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος , καλέσας αὐτὴν ᾽Αντιόχειαν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου ᾽Αντιόχου Σωτῆρος, κτίσας εὐθέως καὶ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐκάλεσε Βωττίου Διός, ἀνεγείρας καὶ τὰ τείχη σπουδαίως φοβερὰ διὰ Ξεναίου ἀρχιτέκτονος, στήσας ἀνδριάντος στήλην χαλκῆν τῆς σφαγιασθείσης κόρης τύχην τῇ πόλει ὑπεράνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εὐθέως ποιήσας αὐτῇ τῇ Τύχῃ θυσίαν. καὶ ἀπελθὼν κατέστρεψε τὴν ᾽Αντιγονίαν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἕως ἐδάφους, μετενεγκὼν καὶ τὰς ὕλας ἐκεῖθεν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ποιήσας καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ ᾽Αντιγονίαι ἀνδριάντα στήλης χαλκῆς ἐχούσης ᾽Αμαλθείας κέρας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς. καὶ ποιήσας ἐκεῖ τετρακιόνιν ἐν ὕψει ἔστησεν αὐτὴν τὴν Τύχην, καταστήσας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς βωμὸν ὑψηλόν, ἥντινα στήλην τῆς Τύχης μετὰ τελευτὴν Σελεύκου Δημήτριος ὁ υἱὸς ᾽Αντιγόνου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ ἀπήγαγεν ἐν ʽΡώσῳ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς Κιλικίας· ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ πόλις ʽΡῶσος ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ Κίλικος τοῦ υἱοῦ ᾽Αγήνορος. ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος μετὰ τὸ καταστρέψαι τὴν ᾽Αντιγονίαν ἐποίησε μετοικῆσαι τοὺς ᾽Αθηναίους εἰς ἣν ἔκτισε πόλιν ᾽Αντιόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν ᾽Αντιγονίαν, οὕστινας ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐάσας ᾽Αντίγονος μετὰ Δημητρίου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἄνδρας Μακεδόνας, τοὺς πάντας ἄνδρας ε̄τ̄ , ποιήσας ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ἐν ᾽Αντιοχείαι τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν φοβερὸν τῆς ᾽Αθήνης διὰ τοὺς ᾽Αθηναίους ὡς αὐτὴν σεβομένους . κατήγαγε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κρῆτας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, οὓς ἔασεν ὁ Κάσος ὁ υἱὸς ᾽Ινάχου ἄνω οἰκεῖν, οἵτινες μετοικήσαντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ᾽Αντιόχειαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν Κυπρίων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Κάσος βασιλεὺς ἠγάγετο ᾽Αμυκὴν τὴν καὶ Κιτίαν , θυγατέρα Σαλαμίνου τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως· καὶ ἦλθον μετ᾽ αὐτῆς Κύπριοι, καὶ ᾤκησαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τελευτᾶι ἡ ᾽Αμυκή, καὶ ἐτάφη ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ρ̄, δι᾽ ἣν ἐκλήθη ἡ χώρα ᾽Αμυκή. προετρέψατο δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ τοὺς ᾽Αργείους

Ἰωνίτας, καὶ κατήγαγε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰωπόλεως ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείαι οἰκεῖν, οὕστινας ὡς ἱερατικοὺς καὶ εὐγενεῖς πολιτευομένους ἐποίησεν. ἔστησε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄγαλμα λίθινον τῷ ἀετῷ. ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας τῆς Συρίας κατὰ Μακεδόνας ὀνομάζεσθαι ** διότι εὗρεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώραι γίγαντας οἰκήσαντας· ἀπὸ γὰρ δύο μιλίων τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας ἐστὶ τόπος ἔχων σώματα ἀνθρώπων ἀπολιθωθέντων κατὰ ἀγανάκτησιν θεοῦ, οὕστινας ἕως τῆς νῦν καλοῦσι γίγαντας· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Παγράν τινα οὕτω καλούμενον γίγαντα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντα γῇ κεραυνωθῆναι ὑπὸ πυρός, ὡς δῆλον ὅτι οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς τῆς Συρίας ἐν τῇ γῇ οἰκοῦσι τῶν γιγάντων. ἐποίησε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄλλο ἄγαλμα κεφαλῆς ἵππου καὶ κασσίδα κεχρυσωμένην πλησίον, ἐπιγράψας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐφ᾽ οὗ φυγὼν ὁ Σέλευκος τὸν Ἀντίγονον [ὁ] διεσώθη, καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν᾽. ἀνήγειρε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος καὶ τῶι Ἀμφίονι στήλην μαρμαρίνην ἔσω τῆς λεγομένης Ῥωμανησίας πόρτας, ὀρνεοθυσίαν ποιοῦντι ἅμα αὐτῶι.

(3) ἔκτισε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ καὶ ἄλλην παραλίαν πόλιν ἐν τῇ Συρίαι ὀνόματι Λαοδίκειαν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρός, πρώην οὖσαν κώμην ὀνόματι Μαζαβδάν, ποιήσας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος θυσίαν τῷ Διί καὶ αἰτησάμενος ποῦ κτίσει τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν ἀετὸς πάλιν, καὶ ἥρπασεν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας· καὶ ἐν τῷ καταδιώκειν αὐτὸν τὸν ἀετὸν ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ σύαγρος μέγας ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ καλαμῶνος, ὅντινα ἀνεῖλεν ᾧτινι κατεῖχε δόρατι. καὶ φονεύσας τὸν σύαγρον καὶ σύρας τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ διεχάραξε τὰ τείχη, ἐάσας τὸν ἀετόν. καὶ οὕτως τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπάνω τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ συάγρου, θυσιάσας κόρην ἀδαῆ ὀνόματι Ἀγαύην, ποιήσας αὐτῇ στήλην χαλκῆν εἰς Τύχην τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

(4) ἔκτισε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μεγάλην εἰς ὄνομα τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀπάμας, εὑρηκὼς κώμην πρώιην λεγομένην Φαρνάκην. καὶ τειχίσας αὐτὴν ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ἐπωνόμασε πόλιν, καλέσας αὐτὴν Ἀπάμειαν, θυσίαν ποιήσας, ἣν αὐτὸς μετεκάλεσεν ὀνόματι Πέλλαν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν τὴν Τύχην τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀπαμείας πόλεως τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο· ἦν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ἀπὸ Πέλλης τῆς πόλεως Μακεδονίας. ἐποίησε δὲ θυσίαν ταῦρον καὶ τράγον, καὶ ἐλθὼν πάλιν ὁ ἀετὸς ἐπῆρεν τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ ταύρου καὶ τοῦ τράγου, καὶ περιεχάραξεν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τὰ τείχη. (11) ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας διαφόρους πόλεις εἰς ἄλλας ἐπαρχίας καὶ εἰς τὰ Περσικὰ μέρη ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος πολλάς, ὧν ἀριθμός ἐστιν σ̄ε̄ , καθὼς ὁ σοφὸς Παυσανίας ὁ

χρονογράφος συνεγράψατο, ὧντινων πόλεων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξέθετο, εἰς ὄνομα ἴδιον καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων, ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὁ Σέλευκος . ὁ δὲ σοφὸς Παυσανίας ἐξέθετο, <ὅτι> εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πατρὸς ἔθηκε τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μεγάλης Ἀντιοχείας ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ πατὴρ Ἀντίοχος ἐλέγετο. οὐδεὶς δὲ κτίζων πόλιν εἰς ὄνομα τεθνηκότος αὐτὴν καλεῖ· ἔστι γὰρ λῆρος , ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὄνομα ζῶντος καὶ ἑστῶτος καλεῖ· ἥντινα πόλιν εἰς ὄνομα Ἀντιόχου τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς προείρηται ἐκάλεσε. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ αὐτὸς σοφώτατος Παυσανίας ποιητικῶς συνεγράψατο.

1. Immediately after his victory over Antigonus Poliorcetes, Seleucus Nicator wanted to build a number of cities and first began to build on the coast of Syria. Going down to the sea he saw on the mountain a small city which was called Palaiopolis, which Syrus, the son of Agenor, had built. On 23rd Xanthicus he went to Mount Casius to sacrifice to Zeus Casius. After completing the sacrifice and cutting up the meat, he asked in prayer where he should build a city. Suddenly an eagle seized some of the sacrifice and carried it off to the old city. Seleucus and the augurs with him followed close behind and found the meat thrown down by the sea, below the old city at the trading-station known as Pieria. After marking out the walls he immediately laid its foundations, calling the city Seleucia after himself. To give thanks he went up to Iopolis, where three days later he celebrated a festival in honour of Zeus Ceraunus, in the temple built by Perseus, the son of Picus and Danae, which is on Mount Silpius, where Iopolis is situated. He made the sacrifice on 1st Artemisios.

2. He came to the city of Antigonia built by Antigonus Poliorcetes which was surrounded by another river, the Arceuthas, also known as Iaphtha, coming out of the lake, and was in a secure position. He made a sacrifice there in honour of Zeus at the altars built by Antigonus, and cut up the meat. He prayed with the priest Amphion to learn by the giving of a sign whether he ought to settle in the city of Antigonia, though changing its name, or whether he ought not to settle in it but build another city in another place. Suddenly a great eagle came down from the sky and picked up some meat from the burnt offering on the altar-fire and went off to Mount Silpius. He pursued it with his men, and found the sacred meat and the eagle standing on it. When the priest, the augurs and Seleucus saw the wonder, they said, "It is here that we must settle; we must not settle in Antigonia nor should it become a city, since the gods do not want this". Then he discussed with them where to place the city to make it secure. Since he was afraid of the streams from Mount. Silpius and the torrents that came down from it, it was there on the floor of the valley, opposite the mountain near the great river Dracon, renamed the Orontes, on the site of the village known as Bottia, opposite lopolis, that they marked out the foundations for the wall. Through the agency of Amphion, the chief priest and wonder worker, he sacrificed a virgin girl named Aemathe, between the city and the river, on 22nd Artemisios-May, at the first hour of the day, at sunrise. He called the city Antioch after his son, who was known as

Antiochos Soter. He immediately built a temple which he called that of Zeus Bottius, and raised up the walls also to be really tremendous with the help of the architect Xenaeus. He set up a bronze statue of a human figure, the girl who had been sacrificed as the tyche of the city, above the river, and he immediately made a sacrifice to this tyche. He went off and razed the whole city of Antigonia to the ground. He brought the materials from there down the river and made a statue of the tyche Antigonia, a bronze figure holding Amaltheia's horn in front of her. He constructed a four-columned shrine and put the tyche in a high position, placing a lofty altar in front of it. After the death of Seleucus, Demetrios, the son of Antigonus Poliorcetes, carried this statue of the tyche off to Rhosos, the city in Cilicia. The city of Rhosos was built by Kilix, son of Agenor. After destroying Antigonia, Seleucus made the Athenians who used to live in Antigonia migrate to the city that he had built, Antioch the Great. Antigonus had left them there in Antigonia with his son Demetrios and some others, some Macedonians - a total of 5300 men. Seleucus made a tremendous bronze statue of Athene in Antioch the Great for the Athenians, since they worshipped her. He also brought down from the acropolis the Cretans whom Casus, the son of Inachus, had left to live up there. They had migrated to Antioch with the Cypriots, since the emperor Casus married Amyce, also known as Citia, daughter of Salaminus, emperor of Cyprus. Cypriots came with her and made their homes on the acropolis. Amyce died and was buried 100 stades from the city; because of her the district was called Amyce. Seleucus won over the Argive Ionitai as well and brought them down from Iopolis to live in Antioch. He made them city officials, since they were a priestly and well-born group. Seleucus set up a stone statue of an eagle just outside the city. He ordered that the months in Syria should be named in the Macedonian fashion, since he found that giants had lived in the land; for two miles from the city of Antioch is a place with human bodies turned to stone because of God's anger, which are called giants to the present day; equally, a giant known as Pagras, who lived in the land, was burnt by a thunderbolt. So it is plain that the people of Antioch in Syria live in the land of the giants. Seleucus set up just outside the city on the other side of the river another statue, of a horse's head, and next to it a gilded helmet., inscribing on them, "On this Seleucus fled from Antigonus, and was saved; he returned from there and conquered and killed him". Seleucus also set up inside the gate known as Romanesian a marble statue of Amphion, who had made the bird-sacrifice with him.

3. Seleucus Nicator also built another coastal city in Syria named Laodikeia, after his daughter, which was formerly a village named Mazabda. He made the customary sacrifice to Zeus and when he asked where he should build the city, an eagle came again and seized some of the sacrifice. In his pursuit of the eagle he met a great wild-boar, emerging from a reed-bed, and killed it with the spear he was holding. After killing the boar, he marked out the walls with its, blood by dragging the carcass, and ignored the eagle. And so he built the city over the boar's blood and sacrificed an innocent girl, named Agave, setting up a bronze statue of her as the city's tyche.

4. Seleucus Nicator built another great city in Syria, named after his daughter Apama, after finding a village formerly known as Pharnaces. Seleucus fortified it and named it a city, calling it. Apamea, and

made a sacrifice. He changed its name to Pella because the tvche of the city of Apamea had this name, for Seleucus was from Pella, the city in Macedonia. He made a sacrifice, of a bull and a goat. Once again the eagle came and picked up the heads of the bull and goat. He marked out the circuit of the walls with the blood. Seleucus also built various other cities in other provinces and in Persian territory, as many as 75 in number, as the learned Pausanias the chronicler has written. Seleucus named these cities after himself and his children, as he saw fit. The learned Pausanias stated that Seleucus named Antioch the Great after his father, since his father was also called Antiochos. But no one building a city calls it after a dead man, for that is nonsense: he calls it after a person who is alive and well. He named this city after his son Antiochos, as mentioned above. The most learned Pausanias has written much else poetically.